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FIG. 1.—SULTÂN MEHMET II, CONQUÉRANT DE CONSTANTINOPLE
VERS 1470, GOUVERNEMENT PERSAN



FIG. 2.—DJEM SULTÂN, FRESQUE DE PINTURICCHIO, 1492-1494
APPARTEMENTS BORGIA (CLICHÉ ALINARI)

CONTRIBUTION À L'ICONOGRAPHIE DE LA TURQUIE ET DE LA PERSE XV^e-XIX^e SIÈCLES

PAR ARMÉNAG SAKISIAN

AU COURS DE MES RECHERCHES RELATIVES AUX ARTS GRAPHIQUES PERSANS ET TURCS, IL m'a été donné, le hasard aidant, de découvrir, d'identifier ou d'acquérir un certain nombre de portraits de souverains, de princes ou de princesses, de littérateurs, d'artistes, ou simplement d'inconnus, dont l'ensemble constitue une contribution notable à l'iconographie musulmane¹ de la Turquie et de la Perse.

Publiés à des dates différentes dans divers périodiques, ou dans mon ouvrage sur la miniature persane,² j'estime qu'il n'est pas sans intérêt de réunir ces portraits, qui à côté d'une valeur artistique quelquefois très grande, sont particulièrement précieux au point de vue de l'histoire des peuples musulmans, à laquelle on peut dire qu'une illustration documentaire a fait défaut jusqu'ici.

Le magistral dessin³ de Behzād représentant Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā, dit Bāiḳara, l'un des derniers et plus grands Tīmūrides (1468-1506), dont Herāt, dans le Khorāsān, était la capitale, et le célèbre portrait du conquérant de Constantinople, Mehmet II (1451-1481), par Gentile Bellini, constituent de brillantes exceptions. Le premier, publié en 1912 par F. R. Martin et qui appartient aujourd'hui à la collection L. Cartier, est l'ébauche d'une miniature en couleurs, dont le fond uni en vert d'eau est indiqué, et se situe vers 1485. Le second, daté de 1480, se conserve à la National Gallery de Londres,⁴ à la suite d'un legs de Sir Henry Layard, qui l'avait acquis à Venise. Les effigies authentiques de ces deux souverains, fixées presque simultanément par deux artistes dignes d'eux, l'un Persan et l'autre Italien, étaient donc déjà connues.

En 1931, à l'Exposition d'Art Persan de Burlington House, un portrait en buste, de dimensions exceptionnelles,⁵ prêté par le Gouvernement Persan, a attiré mon attention (*Fig. 1*). Quoique situé dubitativement à Kābul, par le Catalogue,⁶ il était certain que le personnage représenté était un Ottoman. Il m'a été très facile de rafraîchir mes souvenirs du célèbre portrait de Bellini, la National Gallery n'étant qu'à quelques centaines de mètres, et j'ai dû conclure de ce rapprochement que le modèle des deux peintures était le même. Les traits, le costume et même l'expression sont presque identiques. Dans la mesure où il y a divergence, elle découle d'une différence d'âge. La toile de Bellini, datée du 25 Novembre 1480, représente le conquérant de Constantinople à cinquante et un ans passés et il s'en dégage une

¹ Voir pour l'iconographie arménienne les articles suivants de l'auteur: "Deux tableaux à sujets arméniens de Jean Baptiste Van Moor," dans la *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, t. I, fasc. 4, 1921, p. 423; "A l'occasion d'une Exposition d'Art Séfévi," dans l'*Almanach de l'Hôpital Arménien* (en arménien), Constantinople, 1934, p. 28; "A propos de deux médailles arméniennes de 1673 à l'effigie d'un marchand de Djoulfa près Ispahan," dans la *Revue Historique*, t. clxxiv, Juillet-Août, 1934, p. 19.

² *La Miniature Persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1929.

³ *Ibid.*, Fig. 59.

⁴ Voir la reproduction en frontispice dans L. Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et le Sultan Mohammed II*, Paris, 1888.

⁵ Il est peint sur toile et mesure 30,5 sur 18 centimètres.

⁶ No. 606.

impression de fatigue et d'affaissement.⁷ Meḥmet II n'a en effet survécu que six mois à l'achèvement de son portrait. Une expression de méfiance et de dissimulation commune aux deux œuvres est peut-être plus frappante sur le portrait persan, où le sultān paraît âgé d'une quarantaine d'années seulement, ce qui date cette gouache de 1470 environ.

L'expression morale du modèle, fixée avec une telle acuité par les deux portraitistes, semble corroborer une observation de Philippe de Commynes qui estime que le conquérant usait plus "de sens et de cautelle que de vaillance."⁸

Ces deux effigies présentent un intérêt d'autant plus grand, qu'elles se rapportent à une grande figure de l'histoire moderne. Meḥmet II, qui s'emparait à vingt-quatre ans de Constantinople, aimait les arts, patronnait les poètes, et a eu une politique libérale vis-à-vis de ses sujets non-musulmans.

Le Trésor du Vieux Sérail d'Istanbul possède de son côté, dans un recueil qui a dû appartenir à Ya'kūb Bey des Turcomans du Mouton Blanc,⁹ un second portrait de Meḥmet II par un peintre d'Occident. Le profil se détache sur un fond or, la barbe finement indiquée, l'oreille cassée par le turban blanc qui entoure un bonnet rouge. Il est en robe verte et manteau noir à col de fourrure marron. Ici le fond or semble directement inspiré par les mosaïques byzantines, que l'on voyait encore à Constantinople à cette date, et c'est là, suivant toute vraisemblance, une œuvre de Gentile Bellini.¹⁰ Ya'kūb Bey (1479-1490), occupait précisément le trône de Tabriz, pendant le séjour de Bellini à Constantinople.

C'est aussi à un artiste du quattrocento italien que nous devons la silhouette pittoresque de Djem Sultān, fils du conquérant de Constantinople. En effet Pinturicchio a introduit dans sa fresque de la *Dispute de Sainte Catherine*,¹¹ aux Appartements Borgia du Vatican (1492-1494), deux Ottomans, dont les historiens d'art considéraient l'un ou l'autre comme Djem Sultān. M. J. Alazard estimait même ces identifications "fantaisistes."

Je crois avoir établi¹² que le Turc à cheval, par son nez aquilin et sa ressemblance avec Sultān Meḥmet II, comme par le port de la barbe, est bien le fils du conquérant de Constantinople. Sa présence sur une fresque de Pinturicchio à la *Libreria* de la Cathédrale de Sienne, où on le fait participer aux préparatifs d'une croisade contre les Ottomans, corrobore cette attribution. Sa représentation à cheval doit rappeler son entrée à Rome le 13 Mars 1489, ou ses promenades à cheval dans la ville des Papes.

Il se présente de profil, fièrement campé sur un cheval blanc à housse bleu et or. Son grand turban blanc s'enroule autour d'un bonnet rouge et de longs cheveux bouclés lui retombent dans le dos. Il porte un superbe manteau de brocart en soie de Brousse (*Fig. 2*).¹³

Djem Sultān a été un prétendant malheureux au trône de son père. Battu par les troupes

⁷ L. Thuasne, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁹ Voir l'ouvrage précité de l'auteur sur la *Miniature Persane*, pp. 16 et 52.

¹⁰ Voir la reproduction de ce portrait dans le *Guide du Musée du Palais de Topkapu* (en turc), Istanbul,

1933, Fig. 33.

¹¹ "Djem Sultan et les fresques de Pinturicchio," par l'auteur, *Revue de l'Art*, Février, 1925, figure en regard de la page 82.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 81s.

¹³ On a cru reconnaître Djem Sultān dans un autre

de son frère aîné, Sultān Bāyazīd II, il fut obligé de se réfugier auprès des Chevaliers de Rhodes, en 1482. A partir de cette date, malgré la foi jurée par les Chevaliers, commence pour l'exilé une vie de captivité, en France d'abord, de 1482 à 1489, et en Italie ensuite, laquelle ne prend fin qu'avec sa mort en 1495 à Capoue, à l'âge de trente-cinq ans.¹⁴

Ce prince malheureux et sympathique était poète et son impression sur Nice, la première ville d'Occident qu'il ait connue, ne manque pas de saveur.

C'est une étrange ville que cette ville de Nice,¹⁵
Quoique l'on fasse, on n'y doit pas de comptes.

Le second Turc qui figure dans les fresques de Pinturicchio, tant aux Appartements Borgia qu'à la *Libreria* de Sienne, ne peut être qu'un officier de Djem Sultān, probablement Sinān Bey.¹⁶

Au XV^e siècle la Perse est partagée entre deux dominations, celle des descendants de Tīmūr à l'Est, avec Herāt pour capitale; et celle des Turcomans du Mouton Noir d'abord, puis du Mouton Blanc, dont le siège était Tabriz. Ce sont même ces princes Turcomans que l'Occident connaissait sous le nom de Shāh de Perse et dont Venise recherchait l'alliance contre le Grand Turc.

Si un des plus grands Tīmūrīdes, Ḥusain Bāīkara, nous est connu par un dessin de la main de Behzād, nous sommes moins heureux à l'égard d'Uzun Ḥasan (1466-1478), le Turcoman du Mouton Blanc qui a été le contemporain et l'ennemi du Sultān Mehmet II, et auquel Jean Marie Angiolello a consacré une biographie.¹⁷ Je crois toutefois pouvoir identifier son fils, le prince royal (*Shāhzāde*) Yūsuf, dont le Vieux Sérail conserve un album (*muraḳḳa'*) avec son *ex-libris*.¹⁸ La forme protocolaire de son nom est Abū'l-'izz Yūsuf Bahādur.

Shaikh Muḥammad, miniaturiste et calligraphe, dont l'activité commence vers la fin du XV^e siècle, quoique originaire du Khorāsān, avait été attiré par la cour de Tabriz. Nous le voyons prendre, sur ses pièces calligraphiques, alternativement les épithètes de Ya'kūbī, Rustemī et Yūsufī. Les deux premières se rapportent aux souverains Turcomans du Mouton Blanc Ya'kūb Bey (1479-1490), et Rustem (1491-1496), et la troisième au prince royal Yūsuf, fils d'Uzun Ḥasan et frère de Ya'kūb Bey.

Deux dessins rehaussés d'un même adolescent, signés par Shaikh Muḥammad nous sont

portrait que l'on attribue, en outre, à Bellini et dont une copie persane est passée de la collection Doucet, dans celle de la Comtesse de Béhague. Ce personnage n'ayant pas le nez aquilin, qui caractérise Djem Sultān, cette identification est à écarter. Voir au sujet de cette question l'article précité de l'auteur, pp. 87-88.

¹⁴ L. Thuasne lui a consacré une belle monographie qui épuise le sujet: *Djem Sultan, étude sur la question d'Orient au XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1892.

¹⁵ La transcription *Nitse* pour Nice, dans ces vers turcs, doit rendre la prononciation italienne, et il ne faut pas y voir une rime forcée.

¹⁶ Voir l'article précité, p. 91.

¹⁷ Giovan Maria Angiolello, "The Life and Acts of the King Ussun Cassano," *Travels of Venetians in Persia*, Hakluyt Society, 1873.

¹⁸ No. 37082.

parvenus. Sur celui de la collection R. Koechlin, légué au Musée du Louvre, le personnage représenté respire des narcisses d'une main et tient un livre de l'autre (*Fig. 3*), tandis que sur le second dessin, il porte sur son poing une perruche verte.¹⁹ C'est là le portrait d'un prince royal: sa coiffure est surmontée d'une aigrette sur l'une des figures et il porte, sur les deux dessins, deux poignards, privilège des princes et princesses du sang.²⁰ La jeunesse du modèle, qui exclut les princes souverains Ya'kūb et Rustem, et les rapports de patron à client de *Shāhzāde Yūsuf* avec *Shāikh Muḥammad*, rendent cette identification très plausible.²¹

Le recueil de miniatures et de pièces calligraphiques au nom de *Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, conservé à la Bibliothèque de Yildiz,²² renferme un portrait inachevé, en bleu et vert, du prince-poète *Shāh Gharīb Mirzā* (*Fig. 4*).²³ Le conquérant des Indes, *Bāber*, parle en termes élogieux de ce fils de *Ḥusain Bāikara*. "*Shāh Gharīb*, qui était contrefait ne payait pas de mine, mais n'en était pas moins bien doué. Si son corps était impotent, sa parole était pleine de force. *Gharīb* était son surnom poétique. Il avait composé un *dīwān* où se trouvaient des vers turks et des vers persans"

A l'Exposition d'Art Persan de Burlington House²⁵ figurait un portrait de *Mīr 'Alī Shīr Newā-i* par *Maḥmūd Mudhahīb*, c'est-à-dire l'enlumineur, prêté par le Gouvernement Persan. Le protecteur de *Behzād* est représenté voûté, appuyé sur un bâton, avec une tête expressive et la barbe grise. C'est une personnalité exceptionnelle dans la société musulmane: poète, *wezīr*, mécène et arbitre des élégances, il est avec son souverain, *Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā*, la plus grande figure du XV^e siècle *tīmūride*.²⁶

Le Trésor du Vieux Sérail possède aussi un portrait d' '*Alī Shīr*, plus jeune, représenté avec la barbe, en compagnie d'un jeune *Mīrzā*.²⁷ Il est en turban blanc et bonnet vert et son manteau noisette laisse paraître en dessous une robe bleue. L'inscription en caractères d'une extrême finesse, indique que c'est le portrait de l' "*Emīr sans pareil, Nizām al-Dīn 'Alī Shīr*." La miniature est signée: le pauvre '*Alī*.

N'étant pas en mesure d'en mettre une reproduction sous les yeux du lecteur, je donne, en lieu et place, le portrait appartenant au Gouvernement Persan, de ce grand seigneur cultivé et raffiné (*Fig. 5*). Il est mort en 1500 et l'œuvre de *Maḥmūd Mudhahīb* ne doit pas être de beaucoup antérieure à cette date.

¹⁹ Voir la *Miniature Persane* de l'auteur, *Fig. 123*.

²⁰ *Les Six Voyages de M. J. B. Tavernier en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes*, Paris, MDCCXIII, t. II, p. 362.

²¹ On a cru reconnaître, par un raisonnement analogue, *Shāh Ṭahmāsp* jeune, sur les portraits d'un prince *Ṣafawī*, dont le plus beau appartient à la collection Vever. Mais si le miniaturiste *Sulṭān Muḥammad* a enseigné la peinture à *Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, le seul portrait de ce type qui soit signé, l'est par un autre artiste, *Shāh Muḥammad*, ce qui rend l'identification hypothétique. Voir la *Miniature Persane* de l'auteur, pp. 112, 117, 118 et Pl. LXXVII.

²² Elle forme aujourd'hui le "fonds Yildiz" de la Bib-

liothèque de l'Université d'Istanbul.

²³ Ce portrait a été reproduit pour la première fois dans l'ouvrage de l'auteur sur la *Miniature Persane*, *Fig. 62*. L'autorisation de le photographier m'a été aimablement accordée par *Fehmi Edhem Bey*, directeur de la Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Istanbul.

²⁴ *Mémoires de Baber*, traduits sur le texte turc, par A. Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1871, t. I, p. 371.

²⁵ Voir l'article de l'auteur sur la "Miniature à l'Exposition d'Art Persan de Burlington House," dans *Syria*, 1931.

²⁶ Voir la *Miniature Persane* de l'auteur, pp. 62-64.

²⁷ Recueil No. 37086.

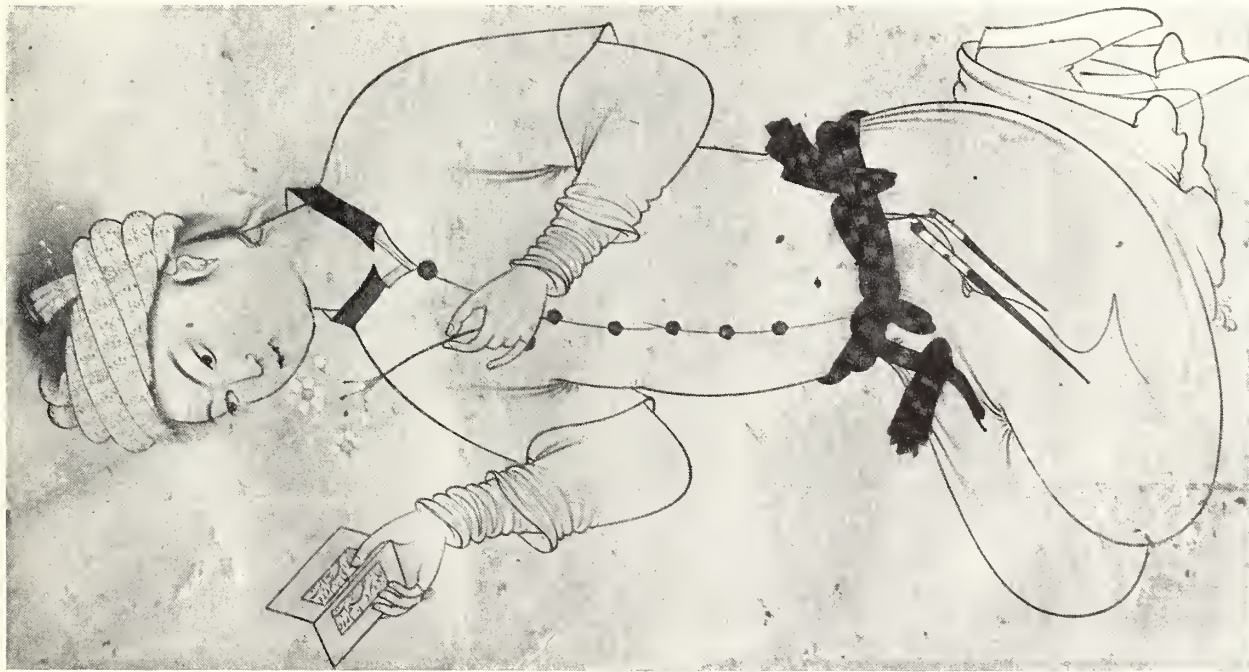


FIG. 3.—PRINCE YŪSUF, FILS D'UZUN ḤASAN, PAR SHAIKH MUHAMMAD
TABRĪZ, FIN DU XV^e SIÈCLE, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE



FIG. 4.—CHARĪB MĪRZĀ, PRINCE-POÈTE TĪMŪRIDE, HERĀT, FIN DU XV^e SIÈCLE
BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ D'ISTANBUL

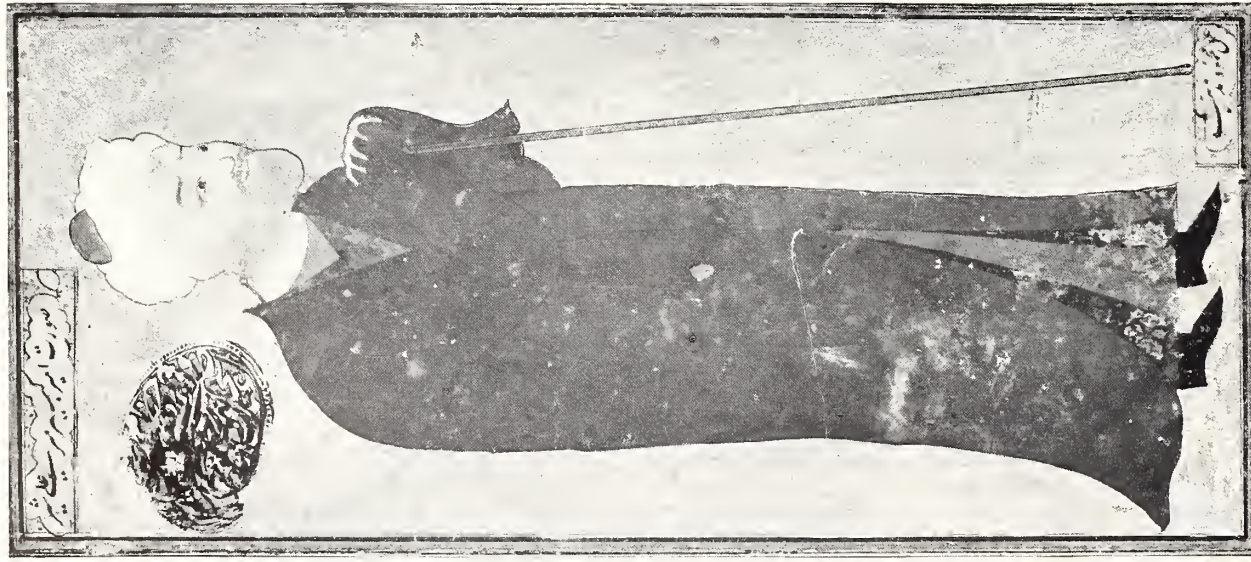


FIG. 5—MĪR 'ALĪ SHĪR NEVĀ'Ī, PAR MAHMŪD MUDHAHĪB
HERĀT, FIN DU XV^e SIÈCLE, GOUVERNEMENT PERSAN



FIG. 6—MUḤAMMAD KHĀN SHĀIBĀNĪ, PAR BEHZĀD, HERĀT, 1507-1510
COLLECTION DE MME. CORA TIMKEN BURNETT

Le portrait, par Behzād, de Muḥammad Khān Shāibānī, appelé aussi Shāibek Khān,²⁸ qui appartient à Mme. Cora Timken Burnett (*Fig. 6*), se rattache également à Herāt.

Au printemps de 1507, à la tête de ses Tatars-Uzbeks, il envahissait les états de Bedī'-al-Zamān, le fils de Sultān Ḥusain Bāīkara, s'emparait de sa capitale Herāt et mettait ainsi fin au règne des descendants de Tīmūr.

Sa conquête ne devait toutefois pas être de longue durée, car vers la fin de 1510, Shāh Ismā'il le Ṣafawī lui reprend le Khorāsān. Le crâne du malheureux Khān vaincu, orné de pierreries, a servi de coupe à vin au Ṣūfī.

Le Grand Mogol Bāber rapporte²⁹ qu'à Herāt Muḥammad Khān Shāibānī retouchait les dessins de Behzād et l'écriture de Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī, le plus célèbre calligraphe de cette époque. Behzād nous représente précisément le conquérant Tatar-Uzbek, non pas dans un attirail guerrier, mais entouré, comme un miniaturiste ou un calligraphe, de portefeuilles, d'une écritoire et de godets. La bague d'archer au pouce rappelle seule le maniement des armes, qui devait lui être cependant plus familier que celui du pinceau et du calame. Behzād a voulu certainement flatter les prétentions artistiques de son nouveau maître, le dernier des grands guerriers de la descendance de Čingīz.

La tête de ce portrait, aux prunelles réduites à deux points, au visage nu malgré un collier de barbe et des moustaches tombantes, est expressive et délicatement traitée. Mais ce qui frappe, c'est la symphonie de quatre grandes taches de couleur: cramoisi, noir, bleu et vert, qui composent toute la palette, au blanc inévitable du turban, près. Les deux premières, violentes, contrastent et éclatent. Faut-il voir là la recherche d'une adaptation du coloris au caractère fruste du personnage?

C'est au commencement du XVI^e siècle qu'appartient aussi Sultān Selīm le Farouche, qui a ajouté aux possessions turques la Syrie et l'Egypte. On ne possédait aucun portrait authentique de lui. En 1921 mon attention a été attirée au Bargello de Florence par des médailles avec effigies à turban, dont l'une s'est trouvée être celle de Selīm I. Sur l'avvers de cette médaille (*Fig. 7*),³⁰ qui mesure 38 millimètres, le profil imberbe et sévère du sultān est entouré de l'inscription "*Selymus · turcorum · imperator,*" tandis que le revers (*Fig. 8*), sur lequel se voient une forteresse et des obélisques porte: "*Memphi · capta · regibus · devictis,*" allusion à la prise du Caire après la défaite de Kānşūh al-Ghūrī et de Tūmānbāy. Postérieure à la conquête de l'Egypte, la médaille se situe entre 1517 et 1520, date de la mort du sultān.

A la fin d'un très intéressant album de la Bibliothèque Nationale,³¹ figure un dessin turc rehaussé de rose, qui doit représenter Selīm I, à en juger par l'absence de barbe.³² C'est là,

²⁸ Reproduit pour la première fois dans un article de l'auteur intitulé "A propos de trois miniatures inédites de Behzād," *Revue de l'Art*, Janvier, 1927. Voir la reproduction en couleurs dans la *Miniature Persane* de l'auteur.

²⁹ Baber, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 10.

³⁰ Les photographies et les inscriptions de cette médaille m'ont été obligeamment communiquées par G.

de Nicola, directeur du Museo Nazionale. L'avvers a été publié dans un article de l'auteur, intitulé "A propos d'une coupe à vin en agate au nom du Sultan Timouride Husseïn Bāīcara," *Syria*, 1925.

³¹ O. D. 41.

³² Ce dessin a été reproduit par F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, Pl. 227.

en effet, une caractéristique de ce souverain, comme on peut s'en rendre compte en feuilletant le premier recueil venu de portraits des sultāns.³³ Même si on admet l'authenticité³⁴ de ce dessin, il est certain que c'est à la suite d'une confusion que son attribution au peintre Ḥaīdar a pu être envisagée par F. R. Martin.³⁵ En effet 'Ālī, l'historien des artistes persans et turcs du livre, nous apprend dans son *Menāḳib-i-Hünerwerān*, que Ḥaīdar Naḳḳaṣh, qui était en rapports avec Selīm II (1566-1574), avant que celui-ci montât sur le trône, était connu comme un portraitiste habile, et spécialement pour peindre ce sultān. Ḥaīdar n'a donc pas pu faire le portrait de Selīm I qui est mort en 1520 et il n'a pas été davantage le peintre de la cour de Suleīmān le Magnifique,³⁶ soit du père de Selīm II. Nous savons par la même source que c'est le miniaturiste *Shāh Kūlī* de Tabrīz qui jouissait des faveurs de Suleīmān.³⁷

Les chroniques musulmanes ont conservé le souvenir de portraits de *Djelāl al-Dīn Rūmī*, le grand mystique, auteur du *Mathnewī*, exécutés à la demande de la célèbre sultāne *Gürdjī Khātun*, dans le second quart du XIII^e siècle, à Konya. D'après *Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuad Bey*, l'auteur de ces portraits, 'Aīn al-Dawle, était très probablement un peintre arménien.³⁸

Aucune effigie du fondateur des Derviches *Mawlevī*, remontant au Moyen-Age, ne nous est parvenue, mais le couvent de cet ordre situé, hors les murs, à Topkapu d'Istanbul, conserve un portrait qui offre des caractères d'authenticité, en même temps qu'il est, à ma connaissance, le plus ancien qui existe (*Fig. 9*).³⁹ Il ne peut remonter toutefois qu'à la fin du XV^e siècle, et le visage a été retouché à une basse époque. Une inscription turque donne cette miniature comme le portrait de "Mawla *Khunkar*," c'est-à-dire de *Djelāl al-Dīn Rūmī*.

Il est en robe brun-foncé et manteau vert, les mains rentrant dans les manches, d'où s'échappe un chapelet. Le nez est busqué et il porte une grande barbe grise. Sa haute et volumineuse coiffure se rapproche nettement du couvre-chef des derniers grands maîtres de l'ordre.

C'est toujours à Behzād que nous devons le portrait du poète *Khorāsānien Hātifī*,⁴⁰ neveu de *Djāmī* (*Fig. 10*). Il est représenté sous les traits d'un vieillard en turban *ṣafawī*, à la

³³ Ces recueils sont appelés *Shemāil-Nāme*. J'en citerai trois, manuscrits du dernier quart du XVI^e siècle, correspondant au règne de Murād III, pendant lequel ils semblent avoir été particulièrement en vogue. Ce sont, à la Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Istanbul, les Nos. 2654 et 2652 du fonds Yildiz, datés de 1579 et 1581 et au Musée de l'Evkaf, le No. 2234, de 1583. Un recueil lithographié en couleurs de trente et un portraits de sultāns, jusqu'à 'Abd al-Madīd, édité à Constantinople, est l'œuvre du peintre *Hādji Boghos*.

³⁴ Sa coiffure est bien celle d'un sultān de Turquie, et l'absence de barbe, de longues moustaches et les sourcils froncés correspondent à des traits caractéristiques et traditionnels de Selīm I; mais étant monté sur le trône à quarante ans passés, il paraît beaucoup trop jeune sur ce

dessin.

³⁵ F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 93 et légende de la Pl. 227.

³⁶ F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 227, légendes des portraits de François I et de Charles V.

³⁷ Voir la *Miniature Persane* de l'auteur, pp. 121-122.

³⁸ *Journal Ikdam* de Constantinople, No. 8842.

³⁹ La bibliothèque de ce couvent possède aussi une copie du *Mathnewī* par Emīr Sātī, dont la date correspond au début de 1372, et que le supérieur, *Shāikh Bākī*, m'a dit (1914), être l'exemplaire le plus ancien de ce manuscrit.

⁴⁰ Ce portrait a été publié pour la première fois dans un article de l'auteur intitulé "A propos de trois miniatures inédites de Behzād," *Revue de l'Art*, Janvier, 1927.

grande barbe grisonnante, au nez busqué, assis sur ses jambes repliées. Cette miniature, à la fois délicate et réaliste, doit se placer entre 1511 et 1521, date de la mort du poète.

A l'exemple de Nizāmī, Hātifi a chanté les amours de Madjnūn et de Layla. Sa carrière présente le même dualisme que celle de Behzād: après la prise de Herāt par Shāh Ismā'il, il abandonne l'ancienne capitale de Husain Bāikara, où Muḥammad Khān Shaibānī n'avait eu qu'un règne éphémère, pour Tabrīz, la nouvelle capitale des shāhs Ṣafawīs.

Le célèbre *muraḳka'*, formé pour Shāh Ṭahmāsp et conservé à la Bibliothèque de Yildiz, renfermait un portrait représentant Behzād,⁴¹ précisément lorsque celui-ci était attaché à la cour Ṣafawīe de Tabrīz, comme l'indique sa coiffure surmontée du bâton rouge (*Fig. 11*).⁴² L'authenticité de ce portrait du plus grand miniaturiste⁴³ ne peut pas faire de doute, car il figure dans un album ayant appartenu à Shāh Ṭahmāsp, qui a eu l'artiste à son service. Cette effigie fait en outre partie d'une série de dignitaires de la cour persane, à types non moins individualisés et dont les noms sont indiqués. La suscription la donne pour le "portrait de maître Behzād." On peut difficilement concevoir type rendu de façon plus réaliste, et les deux portefeuilles qu'il porte ne laissent guère de doute sur sa profession. Behzād est vêtu d'un manteau turquoise et d'une robe noisette. Ce portrait se place entre 1511 et 1535-36.⁴⁴

Quoique courbé par l'âge, il semble plus jeune qu'il ne devait l'être dans la dernière période de sa carrière sous Shāh Ismā'il ou Shāh Ṭahmāsp, aussi peut-on se demander s'il n'a pas la barbe teinte, suivant une coutume répandue en Perse.

Behzād a fixé aussi les traits de Shāh Ismā'il le Ṣafawī, le troisième maître sous lequel il a travaillé. Il a été le directeur de son atelier de confection de manuscrits à Tabrīz, et nous connaissons le texte de son diplôme, daté du 24 Avril 1522.⁴⁵

C'est le Trésor du Vieux Sérail, à Istanbul,⁴⁶ qui conserve un dessin d'après Shāh Ismā'il signé de la formule "calame brisé du pauvre Behzād," par laquelle l'artiste fait probablement allusion à sa vieillesse. Cette œuvre ne soutient dans tous les cas pas la comparaison avec les portraits des deux premiers souverains, au service desquels il avait mis son art.

Martin a publié le portrait d'un homme à turban⁴⁷ de la collection Goloubew qu'il donnait comme celui d'un derviche, signé Welī-Djān. Les grands caractères entrelacés qui figurent sur cette miniature ne peuvent pas former le nom de Welī-Djān, quoique je n'aie pas réussi à les déchiffrer. Mais elle porte une attribution que l'on a cru lire, l'imagination

⁴¹ Publié pour la première fois par l'auteur à l'occasion d'une étude sur "Les miniaturistes Behzād et Kassim Ali," dans la *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Octobre, 1920.

⁴² Voir pour le turban ṣafawī, l'ouvrage sur la *Miniature Persane* de l'auteur, p. 102.

⁴³ Voir *ibid.*, pp. 62-80 et 103-105, ainsi que "Œuvres et données nouvelles se rapportant à Behzād," par l'auteur, dans *Journal Asiatique*, Avril-Juin, 1932, p. 298.

⁴⁴ Un chronogramme pour la mort de Behzād, cité par le miniaturiste-calligraphe Dost Muḥammad dans son introduction au *muraḳka'* de Bahrām Mīrzā (1544), donne l'année 942 de l'hégire, qui correspond à 1535-36. Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 1933, p. 186.

⁴⁵ Mirza Mohammed Qazvini et L. Bouvat, "Deux documents inédits relatifs à Behzād," *Revue du Monde musulman*, Mars, 1914.

⁴⁶ Recueil No. 37061.

⁴⁷ F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 229.

aidant, "père de Layla," ou bien "fait par 'Alī fils de Qabā."⁴⁸ Or, sans doute aucun, c'est le nom de La'līn Kābā,⁴⁹ le conteur public (*meddāh*) mort en 1601, familier de Sultān Murād III, qui figure sur ce portrait (*Fig. 12*). Sa robe est verte, et son manteau, violet foncé et à fourrure. Son nom qui est un sobriquet signifiant *manteau rouge*, et son air débraillé ajoutent déjà à la vraisemblance de l'attribution, mais celle-ci est rendue certaine par le mouchoir qu'il porte sur l'épaule. En effet, aujourd'hui encore, les conteurs publics turcs ne se séparent pas d'un mouchoir, qu'ils jettent sur leur épaule. C'est le cas de quatre portraits sur cinq, de conteurs contemporains, que donne une récente publication turque.⁵⁰

Le Musée de l'Evkaf d'Istanbul possède un petit manuscrit des œuvres (*dīwān*) du grand lyrique turc Bākī, daté de 1596, et dont l'illustration comporte un portrait de l'auteur devant son pupitre de travail.⁵¹ S'il laisse à désirer comme finesse, il n'en est pas moins intéressant, surtout qu'il est contemporain du poète, celui-ci étant mort en 1600.

Avant de quitter le XVI^e siècle, je veux mentionner un couple anonyme turc, dû au miniaturiste tabrizin Welī-Djān, attaché à la cour ottomane, à la fin de ce siècle.⁵²

Un album de la Bibliothèque Nationale,⁵³ formé à Constantinople—comme suffisent à le prouver les pages de calligraphie découpée de Fakhrī de Brousse et une collection d'empreintes de cachets turcs de la fin du XVI^e siècle—renferme un dessin qui porte un petit cachet au nom de Welī-Djān. Cette œuvre gracieuse a été exécutée pendant le séjour de cet artiste en Turquie, car c'est le portrait, non pas d'un "élégant Uzbek," comme l'écrit M. Blochet,⁵⁴ mais d'un jeune Othmanlī, par le costume comme par le type (*Fig. 13*).

Un portrait de jeune femme, coiffée d'un petit bonnet en cône tronqué, tenant une rose, avec comme fond le même arbre fleuri (*Fig. 14*), et qui a été pris pour un dessin du milieu du XV^e siècle,⁵⁵ est certainement de la main de Welī-Djān, et forme le pendant du petit maître turc.

Au commencement du XVII^e siècle, on connaît le beau portrait de Shāh 'Abbās⁵⁶ avec

⁴⁸ *Ars Asiatica*, XIII. "Les miniatures orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston" par Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (déchiffrement de N. N. Martinovitch), 1929, Pl. LXIII, Fig. 104.

⁴⁹ Ismā'il Belīgh, *Güldeste-i-Ryaz* (en turc), 1723, Brousse, pp. 529-530.

⁵⁰ Selim Nuzhet, *Türk Temashasi, Meddah, Karagöz, Orta Oynu*, Istanbul, 1930, p. 6 et Figures des pages 23, 27, 31 et 39.

⁵¹ Je possède le *fac-simile* en couleurs d'une autre page de ce manuscrit, qui figure un paysage printanier turc, aussi charmant que naïf et qu'accompagnent ces vers de Bākī:

Les soldats des nuages ont envahi le pays des gazons
Avec des allures de pillards, tels des Tatars en révolte.

⁵² Voir pour Welī-Djān, la *Miniature Persane* de l'auteur, p. 125.

⁵³ Arabe 6074.

⁵⁴ *Les Enluminures des Manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1926, p. 118.

⁵⁵ F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Fig. 19.

⁵⁶ W. Schulz, *Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1914, Pl. 179.

Un dessin, intéressant plutôt au point de vue documentaire, représente un shāh sur son trône entouré de dignitaires, dont Īmām Kūlī Khān, et des ambassadeurs de Turquie, des Uzbeks et de Portugal. Ce dernier doit représenter Figueroa, l'auteur de l'Ambassade en Perse (1617-1619), dont la mission correspond à la période d'*union* de la Péninsule ibérique, ce qui est de nature à expliquer le titre d'ambassadeur du Portugal qui lui est donné. Le souverain serait en conséquence Shāh 'Abbās. T. W. Arnold, "Some unpublished persian paintings of the Safavid Period," *Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. XVII, No. 135, Pl. 6. Arnold n'identifie d'ailleurs ni Figueroa, ni le roi de Perse. L'absence de Shāh 'Ālem, l'envoyé du



FIG. 7—MÉDAILLE DE SULTÂN SELÎM
CONQUÉRANT DE L'ÉGYPTÉ, 1517-1520
MUSEO NAZIONALE, FLORENCE



FIG. 8—REVERS DE LA MÉDAILLE DE
SELÎM LE FAROUCHE, MUSEO
NAZIONALE, FLORENCE



FIG. 9—PORTRAIT DE DJELÂL AL-DÎN RÛMÎ, XV^e-XVI^e
SIÈCLE, COUVENT MAWLEWÎ DE TOP-KAPU, ISTANBUL



FIG. 10—HÂTIFÎ, POÈTE, PAR BEHZÂD
TABRÎZ, 1511-1521

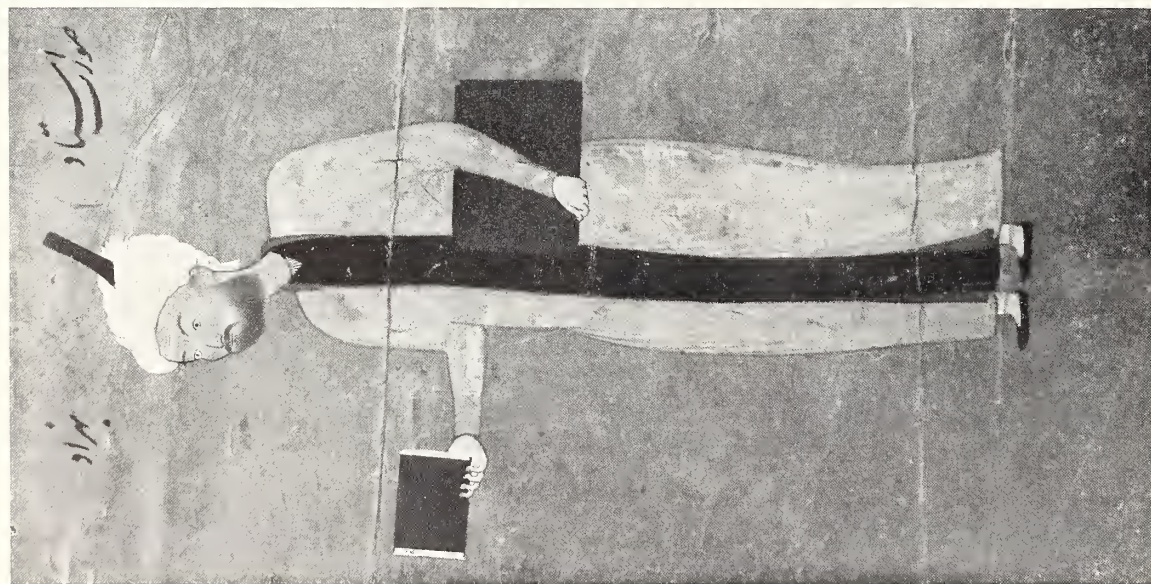


FIG. 11.—PORTRAIT REPRÉSENTANT BEHZĀD, TABRĪZ
1^{er} TIERS DU XVI^e SIÈCLE, BIBLIOTHÈQUE
DE L'UNIVERSITÉ D'ISTANBUL

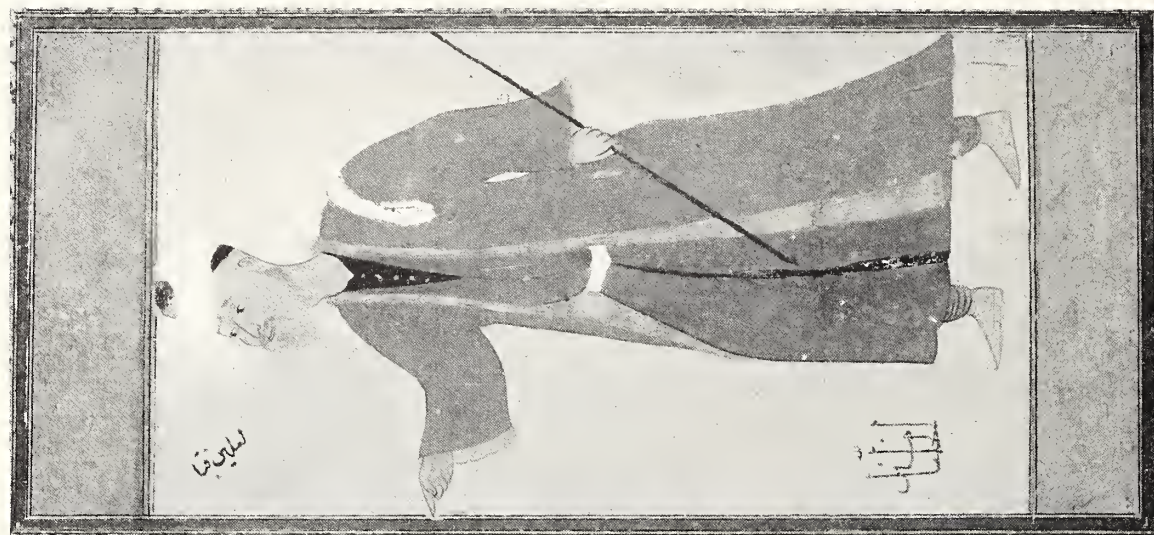


FIG. 12.—LA'ĪN KABĀ, CONTEUR PUBLIC, PORTRAIT
TURC, ISTANBUL, FIN DU XVI^e SIÈCLE
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

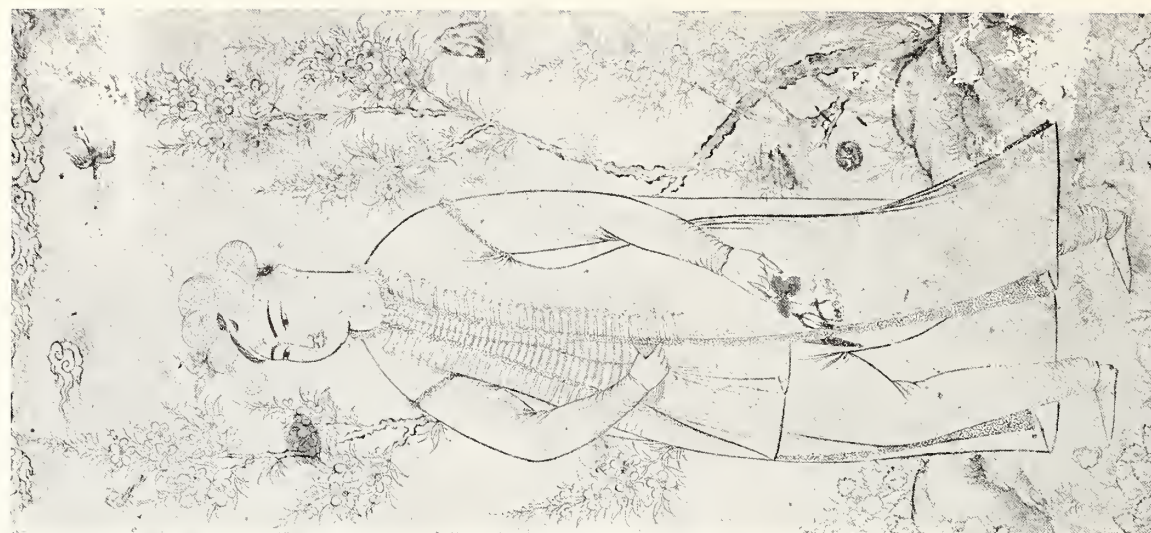


FIG. 13.—PETIT MAÎTRE TURC, PAR WELĪ-DJĀN
ISTANBUL, FIN DU XVI^e SIÈCLE
BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS

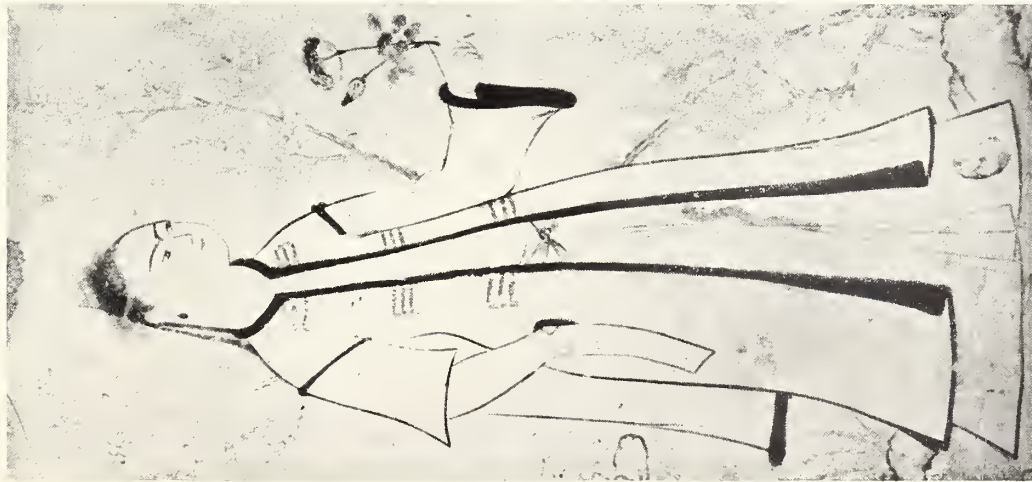


FIG. 14—FEMME TURQUE, PAR WEİL-DJÂN
ISTANBUL, FIN DU XVI^e SIÈCLE
COLLECTION KH. SEVADJIAN



FIG. 15—SHĀH ŠAFĪ ET LE MÉDECIN MUḤAMMAD
ŠIEMSĀ, PAR RUDĀ-I-'ABBĀSĪ, ISFAHĀN
1633, LÉNINGRAD



امام قنجا حاکم کاسر

FIG. 16—ĪMĀM KŪLĪ KHĀN, GOUVERNEUR DE
SHĪRĀZ, 1^{er} TIERS DU XVII^e SIÈCLE
ANCIENNE COLLECTION SCHULZ



FIG. 17—LA FILLE DE SHĀH-ROKH L'AFSHĀRIDE
2^e MOITIÉ DU XVIII^e SIÈCLE



FIG. 18—ELÉGANTE TURQUE, PAR 'ABD ALLĀH
BUKHĀRĪ, ISTANBUL, MILIEU DU XVIII^e
SIÈCLE



FIG. 19—FĀṬMA SULTĀNE, FILLE D' 'ABD AL-MADĪĪD
PAR RUBEN MANASSE, ISTANBUL, 1850



FIG. 20—BOURGEOISE PERSANE
PAR DERVICHE, 1843

l'ambassadeur du Grand Mogol, Khān 'Ālem, et quelques dignitaires de la cour persane, par le peintre indien Bichandas.

Nous devons à Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī, le portrait de son petit fils et successeur, Shāh Ṣafī (1629-1642), dans une grande composition datée de 1633, sur laquelle le shāh, suivi d'un échanton, tend une coupe de vin au médecin Muḥammad Shemsā (*Fig. 15*). L'inscription décerne à ce personnage l'épithète de "Galien de son temps." Dans le bas de la composition sont placés un cheval, un écuyer et un second échanton. Les portraits des deux principaux personnages sont bons, les échantons et l'écuyer ayant le type efféminé classique des pages à boucles descendant sur les joues, qu'on retrouve sur d'autres œuvres de cette époque.

Par une curieuse méprise⁵⁷ on a voulu identifier le souverain avec Shāh 'Abbās, et le médecin avec Khān 'Ālem, l'ambassadeur de Djahāngīr auprès de ce Shāh, sans tenir compte de l'inscription autographe datée et signée de Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī, pas plus que de la carrure, de l'inélégance du costume, ni des dimensions du turban persan, et non mogol, de Muḥammad Shemsā. Pour ce qui est de la ressemblance de Shāh Ṣafī avec le portrait par Bichandas de Shāh 'Abbās, son grand-père et prédécesseur, elle s'explique naturellement pour le physique —dans la mesure où elle existe—ainsi que pour le costume.

Le portrait d'Īmām Ḳūlī Khān, gouverneur de la province de Shīrāz, très individualisé, au turban bizarre et volumineux, avec une coupe de vin en main (*Fig. 16*), n'est pas du XVI^e siècle, comme le donne Schulz,⁵⁸ mais du premier tiers du XVII^e et présente un intérêt historique. Le Khān de Shīrāz qui était d'origine arménienne, avait été "capitaine généralissime" de l'armée persane. Della Valle dit qu'il est "après le Roi, le plus grand prince de la Perse, et duquel l'Etat et le crédit n'est pas inférieur à plusieurs Royaumes de l'Europe."⁵⁹

Tavernier rapporte aussi qu'il "était extraordinairement riche, aimé et respecté de tout le monde" et commandait aux meilleures troupes de la Perse. "De plus il était très magnifique" et Shāh 'Abbās lui aurait demandé "qu'il dépensât tous les jours un *mamoudi* moins que lui, afin qu'il y eut au moins cette petite différence entre la dépense du Roi et celle du Kan."⁶⁰

La puissance d'Īmām Ḳūlī Khān a dû porter ombrage au successeur de Shāh 'Abbās, Shāh Ṣafī, qui fit égorger les trois fils du Khān dont on présenta les têtes dans un bassin d'or au malheureux père; après quoi il subit le même sort, n'ayant demandé pour toute faveur que d'achever sa prière.

Ces tragiques événements se passaient en 1635, après la prise d'Eriwan par le Sultān Murād IV.

Un type caractéristique de beauté orientale—sans aucun doute un portrait—représente suivant une attribution contemporaine la fille de Shāh-Rokh, lequel a régné sur le Khorāsān

Grand Mogol Djahāngīr, dont la mission avait pris fin en 1618, et le fait que Figueroa quitta la cour de Perse en 1619, permettent de dater exactement ce dessin.

⁵⁷ I. Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, t. vi, p. 224.

⁵⁸ W. Schulz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 149.

⁵⁹ *Voyages* de Pietro Della Valle, Paris, 1664, II, pp. 450 et 451.

⁶⁰ Tavernier, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 227.

dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle. Il ne peut en effet s'agir que de Shāh-Rokh l'Afshārīde.

L'artiste a fait à cette princesse (*Fig. 17*), suivant un canon de l'esthétique persane, des yeux plus grands que la bouche, et il a achevé de donner de l'expression à cette tête, que mangent des yeux langoureux, par des accroche-cœurs qui reviennent sur les joues.

C'est une élégante turque (*Fig. 18*), que figure la femme par 'Abd Allāh Bukhārī, lequel a produit dans la capitale des sultāns vers le milieu du XVIII^e siècle.⁶¹ Elle tient d'une main un œillet et relève de l'autre le pan de sa robe. Elle est en juppe-culotte cramoisie, robe verte et ceinture gris-bleu, le tout à ramages or, son haut bonnet à gland, penché sur le côté. Les bijoux, principalement le collier, sont traité d'après une technique qui consiste dans une application d'or ou d'autres matières solides, de couleur.

Cette inconnue nous donne une idée exacte des atours d'une femme de Constantinople, vers 1750.

Une miniature sur ivoire, d'après la technique occidentale, signée Ruben, en caractères arabes et datée de 1850, conserve les traits et le costume authentiques de Fāṭma Sultāne (1840-1883), la fille d' 'Abd al-Madjīd (*Fig. 19*).⁶² Elle n'est que dans sa dixième année et sa jeunesse aide à expliquer la reproduction de ses traits. Si elle paraît plus âgée, cela tient à son costume qui est celui d'une grande personne. C'était, suivant Layla Khānūm,⁶³ une princesse d'une grande intelligence et d'une rare distinction. Quant à l'artiste, il appartient à la famille arménienne Manasse de Constantinople, qui a donné aux Sultāns, au XVIII^e siècle, trois peintres, de père en fils,⁶⁴ et au XIX^e, trois miniaturistes, dont notre artiste, qui signait en français Rubens Menassé.⁶⁵

Pour clore cette galerie, je ne résiste pas à tentation de donner une bourgeoise persane du milieu du dernier siècle, dont le type original n'est pas sans rappeler les personnages de contes de fées de Jean Veber. Les influences occidentales sont manifestes ici, dans la technique, comme dans le costume. L'œuvre est signée l'esclave du roi des saints (c'est-à-dire d' 'Alī), Derviche, et datée de 1843 (*Fig. 20*).

La dame est en redingote cloche orangée, la tête penchée, avec une abondante chevelure qui s'échappe de sa calotte, et les mains gantées de henné. Un chat, placé à ses pieds, ajoute une note d'intimité au portrait, dont le maniérisme n'est certainement pas sans charme.

Tels sont les principaux personnages musulmans, rencontrés sur mon chemin, et qui intéressent l'histoire ou les mœurs de la Turquie⁶⁶ ou de la Perse.

⁶¹ Voir l'article de l'auteur sur "La Peinture à Constantinople et Abdullah Boukhari, miniaturiste turc du XVIII^e siècle," dans la *Revue de l'Art*, Novembre, 1928, pp. 198s.

⁶² Je dois cette reproduction à feu Reshad Fuad Bey de Constantinople.

⁶³ *Souvenirs de Laïla Hanoum sur le Harem Imperial au XIX^e siècle*, adaptés par Youssouf Razi, Paris, 1925, p. 232.

⁶⁴ Cela résulte du rapprochement d'un passage de la *Littérature des Turcs* par l'Abbé Toderini, traduit de l'italien, Paris, 1789, Vol. III, pp. 60-61, et d'un autre du *Tableau general de l'Empire Othoman* de M. d'Ohsson, Paris, 1790, t. II, p. 243.

⁶⁵ Voir "Les Miniaturistes Arméniens des Sultans du XIX^e siècle et la Miniature d'une Princesse Turque," de l'auteur (en arménien), *Almanach de l'Hôpital Arménien*, 1932, p. 144, et "Les Manasse, une Dynastie de Peintres Arméniens, XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles," de l'auteur (en arménien), *Almanach de l'Hôpital Arménien*, Constantinople, 1933, p. 52.

⁶⁶ Les figures en peau colorée de Karagöz peuvent aussi illustrer l'ethnographie et les mœurs de la Turquie. Voir un article sur Karagöz de l'auteur, avec calques au trait, dans le *Bulletin de l'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient*, 1933, Nos. 14-15, et "Le Théâtre de Karaghez," dans *L'Amour de l'Art*, Mars 1935, avec figures.

NOTE AU SUJET D'UN CARTABLE DU SULTĀN SĪDĪ MUḤAMMAD
BEN 'ABD ALLĀH (1757-1790) PAR PROSPER RICARD

LORSQU'EN 1915 LE MARÉCHAL LYAUTEY ME CHARGEA DE LA RÉNOVATION DES INDUSTRIES d'art dans la vieille capitale marocaine du nord, la reliure était à peu près complètement tombée en désuétude. N'ayant pu retrouver l'outillage et les procédés indispensables, je me mis en quête d'anciens ouvrages susceptibles de me donner tous renseignements utiles sur les techniques et les arrangements d'autrefois. Aussi fis-je savoir à la population, par la voie de l'organe local d'alors, en langue arabe, *Les Nouvelles télégraphiques*, édité par la municipalité, qu'il y avait intérêt et profit à recueillir tous les vieux documents, quel qu'en fût l'état, et que je serais acheteur de tous les spécimens qu'on pourrait me présenter.

Pour juger des effets de cette publicité, je me rendis souvent dans la pittoresque rue des libraires qui longe le mur occidental de la vieille mosquée-cathédrale de Ḳarwiyīn où passe toute la production littéraire du Maroc et même d'ailleurs, et où chaque vendredi, après la grande prière, sont mis en vente à l'encan les vieux livres.

C'est là qu'un jour, tomba sous ma main une pièce d'apparence modeste puisqu'extérieurement rehaussée de quelques gaufrures seulement, mais, à ma grande surprise, garnie à l'intérieur—fait unique à ma connaissance—de belles enluminures.

Ma curiosité s'éveilla davantage encore lorsqu'à la lecture des inscriptions courant dans les arabesques, j'appris que l'objet avait été fait à l'intention du sultān marocain Sīdī Muḥammad, fils du Sultān 'Abd Allāh.

J'avais donc sous les yeux un ouvrage du XVIII^e siècle, ayant appartenu à un souverain de la dynastie actuellement, régnante, très représentatif d'une période décadente certes, mais encore pleine d'intérêt. Je l'acquis pour le proposer comme modèle à de jeunes relieurs auxquels je dus, après l'avoir apprise à leur intention, narrer l'histoire de l'un de leurs sultāns, Sīdī Muḥammad, dont le nom resté si populaire est encore porté—pour la troisième fois—par le sultān d'aujourd'hui.

Ainsi qu'on va le voir, Sīdī Muḥammad, fils de Mūlay 'Abd Allāh, aurait pu être surnommé "Le Bien Aimé" tout comme Louis XV dont il fut le contemporain. D'une personnalité moins accusée que Mūlay Ismā'il son grand-père, il est peut-être plus brillant. Dans tous les cas, il s'inscrit au rang des plus grands monarques qu'ait produit la famille chérifienne actuellement au pouvoir.

Alors que l'autorité de Mūlay 'Abd Allāh est continuellement discutée, celle du fils s'affirme dès l'adolescence, du vivant même du père.

Nommé khalīfa à Marrākesh de très bonne heure (1158 H./1745 J.-C.) son activité militaire, administrative et politique est si avisée qu'elle ne met pas longtemps à frapper les esprits.

A peine arrivé à Marrākesh par exemple, il édifie des palais, des jardins et des maisons pour lui et ses gens, des mosquées et des écoles pour le peuple, faisant ainsi recouvrer à la

grande ville du sud le rang de résidence impériale qu'elle avait perdu depuis près d'un siècle.

En même temps qu'il organise son mak^hzen et encourage le commerce, il brise, au cœur des tribus, toute velléité de rébellion, sachant user, tour à tour, de la force et de la persuasion.

Bientôt, on le préfère à son père. Mais aux offres qui lui sont faites à plusieurs reprises de la direction des affaires de l'Etat, il oppose chaque fois un refus formel, protestant de son respect pour le pouvoir paternel pourtant précaire.

Aussi à la mort de Mūlay 'Abd Allāh, est-il proclamé sultān dans l'enthousiasme général (1171 H./1757 J.-C.).

Tous ses soins tendent dès lors à assurer fortement la paix et la sécurité à l'intérieur du royaume, à protéger et armer le littoral méditerranéen et atlantique, à améliorer ses relations avec les puissances européennes avec lesquelles il passe d'ailleurs des traités, à se créer des amitiés en Orient auprès du sultān de Constantinople et du Sherīf de la Mekke.

Sa vigilance et ses soins diligents l'aident à réduire les pressions qui tentent de se faire sentir au dedans et au dehors. Il réussit même à faire évacuer Mazagan par les Portugais (1182 H./1768 J.-C.), la dernière des places que ceux-ci occupaient au Maroc depuis deux siècles et demi.

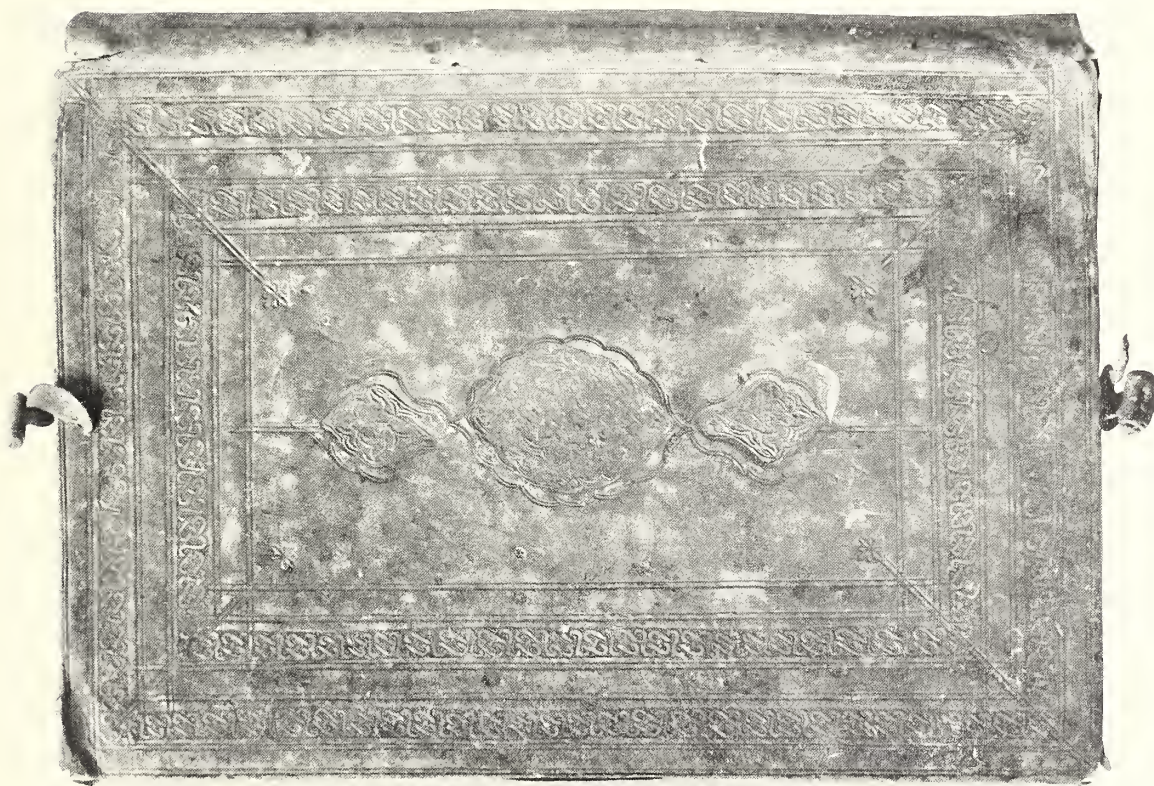
Soucieux d'autre part du patrimoine artistique dont il est l'héritier et le gardien, il restaure et construit un grand nombre de mosquées dans lesquelles il répartit, après les avoir constitués habous, les 12.000 manuscrits de la bibliothèque ismā'ilienne réunie au palais de Meknès. Il procède aussi à la réfection et à la construction de sanctuaires et d'écoles. Sur le littoral méditerranéen et atlantique, il aménage enfin des ports qu'il arme et fortifie. Il va jusqu'à fonder une ville de toutes pièces, Mogador (1178 H./1765 J.-C.).

Un pèlerinage avec sa mère à la Mekke, des exercices de sport et des expéditions l'avaient empêché de se consacrer, dans sa prime jeunesse, aux études qui conviennent à un prince. Mais dès que le khalifat lui laisse des loisirs, il emploie ceux-ci à la lecture des chroniques. Epris de littérature, il apprend presque par cœur les proverbes arabes et les poésies antéislamiques et postislamiques réunies dans des recueils célèbres.

Il délaisse, il est vrai, ces études en prenant possession du pouvoir, mais ce n'est que pour s'adonner davantage à la lecture des Traditions, chercher à en pénétrer le sens en en discutant avec des savants éclairés pour en tirer une ligne de conduite personnelle. L'histoire a laissé une liste des lettrés et des secrétaires dont il aimait à s'entourer et qui, sous sa dictée, prenaient note des extraits dont il voulait tirer parti. Plusieurs ouvrages sont nés de ces entretiens.

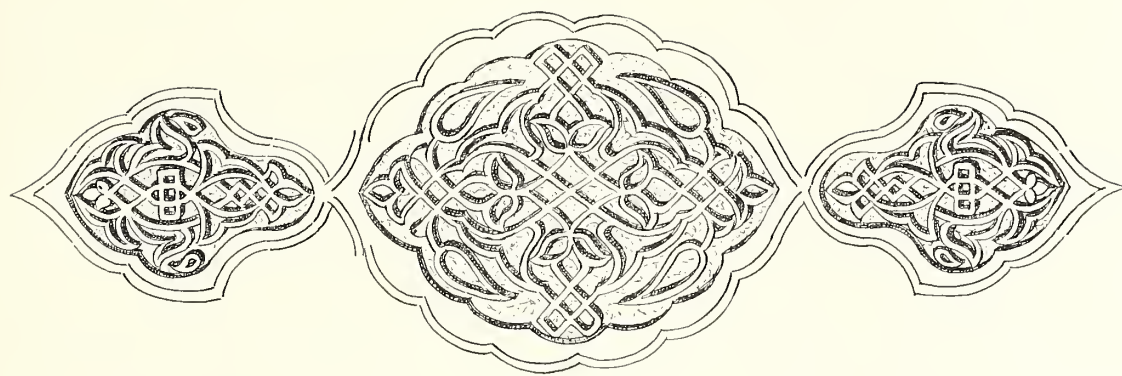
De telles réunions se tiennent, non seulement au palais, mais encore en plein air, en rase campagne, sous la tente. On rapporte qu'un jour, voulant se rendre à Mogador alors toute neuve—la ville avait tout juste vingt ans d'existence—il emmena dans son escorte un grand nombre de savants.

"Pour cette excursion, qui eut lieu au printemps, il emporta, parmi ses tentes, une grande ḡubba qui lui avait été donnée par le 'despote des Frendj.' Elle était doublée de brocart; les panneaux muraux, découpés d'arcatures, étaient de velours fin de diverses couleurs, ses



L'EXTÉRIEUR DU PLAT CAUFRÉ

FIG. 1.—CARTABLE DU SIDI MUHAMMAD BEN 'ABD ALLÂH, XVIII^e SIÈCLE



LE DÉTAIL DES MÉDAILLONS ESTAMPÉS

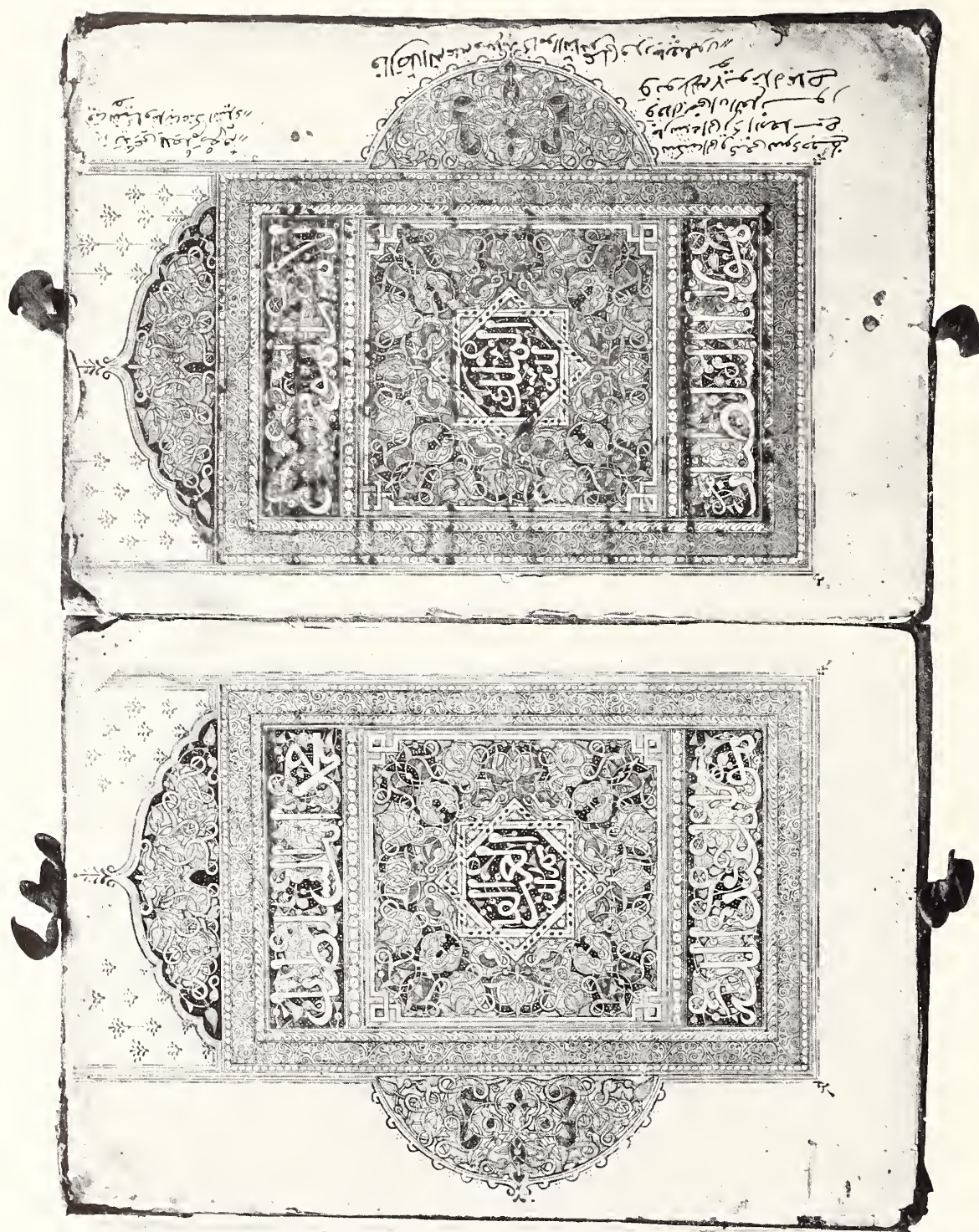


FIG. 2.—CARTABLE DU SIDI MUHAMMAD BEN 'ABD ALLAH, XVIII^e SIÈCLE
LES DEUX ENLUMINURES INTÉRIEURES

garnitures en galon d'or, et les cordes qui le tendaient de soie pure. On prétend qu'elle avait coûté 25.000 dinars. La pomme qui la surmontait, en or pur, pesait 4.000 mithkals d'or. Les kâids, les secrétaires et tous ceux qui partirent avec le sultân emportèrent leurs tentes les plus belles et les plus riches. Dans ce cortège merveilleux, il visita les contrées pittoresques et les beaux sites qui sont agréables à la vue, qu'on est impuissant à décrire, qui dilatent l'âme et tiennent compagnie. Après une excursion de deux mois employés à parcourir les plaines, à satisfaire tous les délices, à se promener dans ces contrées et à chasser le gibier de plume et de poil, il arriva à Souïra (Mogador)."

Sîdî Muḥammad légua sans doute ses hautes qualités à celui de ses fils, Mūlay 'Alî, qu'il affectionna le plus, puisqu'on lit dans le *Ḳitâb al-Istikṣa*: "Ce prince fut un des princes 'alâwîs les plus marquants. C'était un homme de bien et qui était cité pour son intelligence, sa science, ses connaissances littéraires, sa générosité et sa noblesse de caractère. Son salon était le lieu de rendez-vous des gens vertueux, des littérateurs et des personnes de distinction. . . . Il aimait à copier des livres de sciences rares et des ouvrages de littérature. Il envoyait souvent ses poésies et ses discours aux gens de son temps comme aux lettrés de son époque, tels les Fasiyîne, les Bekriyîne et les Ḳâdriyîne."

Ces livres, écrits de la main du prince, comme les recueils de tradition dictés par son père, étaient sans nul doute pourvus de titres rehaussés d'or et de couleurs, établis par les meilleurs calligraphes et enlumineurs du temps. Le petit chef-d'œuvre que nous allons étudier en donne, croyons-nous, un assez fidèle reflet.

L'objet a l'aspect d'une reliure ordinaire, mais sans le rabat traditionnel. C'est un cartable comme en ont certains étudiants lorsqu'ils vont assister aux leçons des professeurs. Formé de deux plats doublés de cuir, il devait recevoir le ou les cahiers extraits des manuscrits non brochés ou débrosés, se rapportant à la leçon du jour. Pourvu en haut et en bas, sur l'axe des plats, d'un côté de boutons de cuir, de l'autre de lanières refendues pouvant s'agrafer sur ces boutons, il retenait entre ses deux plats les cahiers qu'on y glissait (*Fig. 1*).

LA RELIURE.—Les plats, de 31 centimètres de long sur 21 centimètres de large, sont formés de cartons épais de plusieurs millimètres et rigides, recouverts et réunis par un seul morceau de cuir de chèvre de belle qualité, un maroquin aujourd'hui marron clair qui, à l'origine, dut être rouge.

La décoration, identiquement répétée à l'extérieur de chacun des plats, consiste en un cadre estampé courant parallèlement aux bords et en trois médaillons ovales et inégaux disposés sur l'axe longitudinal.

Le cadre, large d'environ 55 mm., est fait de cinq zones parallèles séparées par un filet double. Deux de ces zones, de 12 à 13 mm. de large, remplies de l'empreinte d'une chaînette d'entrelacs, alternent avec trois autres zones, nues, de 10 mm. de large.

La chaînette à deux brins tressés, d'un modèle couramment employé depuis le XIV^e siècle, appartient à un type déjà connu au Moyen-Age, mais ayant perdu de sa correction primitive (*Fig. 3, 1*). Elle paraît avoir été estampée au moyen d'une roulette, car on remarque, sur l'empreinte, un raccord qui semble être répété régulièrement tous les douze

motifs. Comme ceux-ci ont une longueur de 12 centimètres, la roulette aurait eu 37 à 38 millimètres de diamètre. C'est à peu près la dimension observée sur l'un des rares outils de cette sorte qui nous soient parvenus.

Des traits diagonaux, en filet double, masquent la rencontre des ornements dans les angles du cadre, se prolongeant même à l'intérieur, comme pour servir de support à une fleurette à huit pétales imprimée dans les angles du cadre.

Un autre filet double marque enfin l'axe longitudinal sur lequel s'alignent trois médaillons ovales. Ceux-ci, de deux sortes, sont légèrement enfoncés parce qu'ils ont été imprimés au moyen de coins en bois dur ou en métal comme on en voit encore aujourd'hui et soumis à l'action de la presse (*Fig. 1*).

Le plus grand, très régulier, a 60 mm. de long sur 42 de large. Produit par un coin grossier, gravé, ou dont l'empreinte fut imparfaite, il manque de netteté. Nous avons cependant pu le reconstituer. Réplique d'un modèle oriental très répandu, il se compose de deux pédoncules se rencontrant au centre et se terminant, à chacune de leurs extrémités, par une feuille à deux lambeaux dont l'un arrondi, recroisant d'autres pédoncules en losange porteurs d'un fleuron trèflé d'où émanent, toujours symétriquement, soit des entrelacs, soit des rameaux foliés. Son pourtour est festonné.

L'autre médaillon, plus petit, n'a que 38 mm. de long sur 25 mm. de large. Il se répète, symétriquement, aux extrémités du premier. Mieux imprimé, il est plus lisible. On y distingue des éléments analogues: des feuilles à deux lambeaux dont l'un quelquefois arrondi, greffés sur des pédoncules qui s'entrecroisent et forment même un entrelacs, le tout parfaitement harmonisé avec le décor du médaillon voisin.

Ces médaillons sont mis en évidence d'abord par un fond de papier bleu qui fut appliqué au moment de l'estampage, ensuite par un double filet festonné obtenu au moyen d'un fer en quart-de-rond.

L'encadrement de chaînettes, les médaillons d'axe sans rappel d'écoinçons dans les angles, la répartition générale des vides et des pleins, comme l'absence de la dorure, sont les caractéristiques d'une formule qui témoigne du goût sobre et général des relieurs du XVIII^e siècle.

LES ENLUMINURES.—Les deux enluminures collées à l'intérieur du cartable, et qui en constituent la très riche doublure, furent établies sur un papier blanc et fort, finement filigrané. Ayant été exposées à maintes flétrissures, elles sont loin d'avoir gardé la fraîcheur d'autrefois: quelques taches et des piqures d'humidité les souillent par endroits. Des inscriptions, manquant d'élégance et ajoutées après coup, ont même altéré la netteté de la page droite (*Fig. 2*).

Si ce n'étaient les inscriptions distribuées dans les panneaux rectangulaires du haut et du bas des pages, ou octogonaux du centre, les enluminures seraient identiques. Celles-ci se composent essentiellement d'un grand rectangle de 215 mm. de long sur 147 mm. de large, flanqué l'un à droite et l'autre à gauche d'un segment de cercle de 105 mm. de base et de 45 mm. de hauteur, et sommé d'un fronton à profil de coupole lobée de 120 mm. de base et de 40 mm. de hauteur, toutes parties qui vont être successivement étudiées.

Dans le grand rectangle, on observe tout d'abord un cadre très marquant, de 20 mm. de largeur composé:

1°—D'une bande médiane et principale de 8 mm. remplie d'un rinceau aux méandres réguliers dans les involutions duquel s'épanouit dans des positions alternées, un fleuron aux organes à peu près symétriques. La tige du rinceau est mise en évidence par deux traits parallèles tracés comme tous les traits de cet ouvrage à l'encre brune et au calame, avec assez de finesse et de régularité (*Fig. 3, 2*);

2°—De deux listels courant latéralement à cette bande, l'un externe, de 2 mm., orné de cercles tangents centrés de deux courts traits parallèles, l'autre interne, de 3 mm., garni d'une succession de feuilles biaisés dont la nervure se recourbe en formant un œilleton;

3°—De deux filets de 1 mm. parallèles aux listels précédents;

4°—De trois autres filets terminant le cadre à l'extérieur, l'un fait de minces traits noirs, les deux autres, de traits de couleurs. En bas, les filets externes se prolongent quelque peu vers les angles pour amorcer un fleuron diagonal. En haut, listels et filets se prolongent verticalement jusqu'à la limite du papier (*Fig. 2*).

Quant à l'intérieur du cadre, il se divise en trois panneaux de même largeur, soit 108 mm., séparés par un listel de 6 mm. garni d'un alignement de perles serties entre d'étroits filets.

Le panneau central, carré, de 108 mm. de côté, est compris entre les deux autres qui ont 48 mm. de hauteur. C'est dans ceux-ci, au nombre de quatre (deux dans chaque page) que se développe, sur un fond d'arabesques florales, l'inscription suivante:

Au (ou Du) Prince des Croyants	لامير المومنين
Notre maître le Sulṭān	مولانا السلطان
Muḥammad fils du Sulṭān	محمد بن السلطان
Notre maître 'Abd Allāh.	مولانا عبد الله

Il est difficile de déterminer la date exacte de cette inscription, mais elle ne peut être située qu'entre le jour où, encore impubère, Sīdī Muḥammad entreprit le pèlerinage de la Mekke avec sa mère (1143 H./1730 J.-C.) et celui de sa mort (1204 H./1790 J.-C.). Vraisemblablement, elle est du début de l'entrée du prince dans l'histoire, c'est-à-dire du deuxième quart du XVIII^e siècle. A la rigueur, elle peut remonter à la deuxième moitié du siècle. Dans tous les cas, elle donne un exemple caractéristique de la calligraphie et de l'enluminure d'alors.

Quand on a l'habitude de l'écriture cursive tracée au calame, on est tenté de reprocher à celle-ci de n'être pas toujours logique, dans ses déliés non plus que dans ses pleins, qui ne sont pas à leur place. Si le fait n'est pas nouveau, du moins il affirme certaines tendances déjà manifestes aux périodes antérieures.

Ainsi les courbes, généralement trop arrondies, sont molles et manquent de nerf. L'amorce des lettres, qui autrefois accusait nettement ses angles, a perdu son mordant. Les

crochets, autrefois très prononcés, s'émousent et se ferment, témoins ces têtes d'*ālifs*, de *lām* et de *tā*, de *bā* et de *nūn*, d'où sont proscrits toutes dures (Fig. 3, 10).

De même style sont les courtes inscriptions placées dans les médaillons du centre (Fig. 4, 6):

à droite: Le pouvoir est à Dieu الملك لله
à gauche: La puissance durable est à Dieu العز القائم لله

disposées chacune sur deux lignes pour mieux remplir l'emplacement qui leur est destiné, et où l'on observera un *kāf* traité comme un *lām* avec, dans la boucle terminale, un *kāf* minuscule qui, exempt de sa brisure spécifique, se courbe comme un *dāl*.

Pour mieux mettre en évidence cette écriture, qui cependant a encore assez de caractère, le calligraphe la fait courir sur un fond d'arabesques florales qui l'accompagne comme en sourdine. Au rythme de ses déliés et de ses pleins, autrement dit de ses nuances, correspond celui des grêles enroulements et des rejets florés ou feuillés, plus nourris, du lacis sous-jacent.

Dans le médaillon octogonal du centre, ce lacis est tracé par une simple volute qui naît sur la droite, va vers la gauche, passe tout près de chacun des côtés de l'octogone, puis se replie en elle-même et s'arrête après deux involutions complètes, c'est-à-dire au point où l'espace vient à manquer (Fig. 3, 7).

C'est la même volute qui remplit les frises rectangulaires d'inscriptions, et se répète quatre fois, dans une position semblable, le brin de départ s'ajoutant par tangence à la gauche du précédent comme pour tracer un rinceau ordinaire avec cette différence que chaque nouvelle addition se fait à contresens. Ainsi se placent les spires *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, et *e*, la dernière incomplète faute de place et carrément coupée sur son axe vertical (Fig. 3, 8).

Cette ordonnance risquant de laisser trop de vides, ceux-ci sont comblés par le tracé, sur le rinceau déjà établi, d'une nouvelle suite de volutes dont le point de départ coïncide à peu près avec le centre des précédents. Ainsi se développe le second rinceau formé par les volutes *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, et *j* (Fig. 3, 9).

La frise épigraphique et le lacis floral étant placés, il ne reste plus qu'à greffer sur celui-ci les organes foliacés qui ont eux-mêmes des pleins et des déliés.

Ces organes sont des feuilles à deux lambeaux lancéolés veinés de nervures conventionnelles. D'une grande souplesse et d'une courbure extrêmement variable, ils remplissent les plus grands vides laissés par l'écriture, surtout dans la partie haute de la frise (Fig. 3, 5).

Un peu moins importants sont les culots, sortes de bourgeons stylisés (Fig. 3, lignes 3 et 5).

Les organes les plus petits consistent d'abord en renflements, bourgeons ou folioles qui, judicieusement placés, rompent la monotonie des courbes, puis en ligatures qui rendent plus acceptables certains rapprochements et croisements. A noter enfin les retours de feuilles en anneaux, qui précisent les croisements compliqués et leur enlèvent l'aspect inharmonieux qu'ils auraient sans cela (Fig. 3, ligne 4).

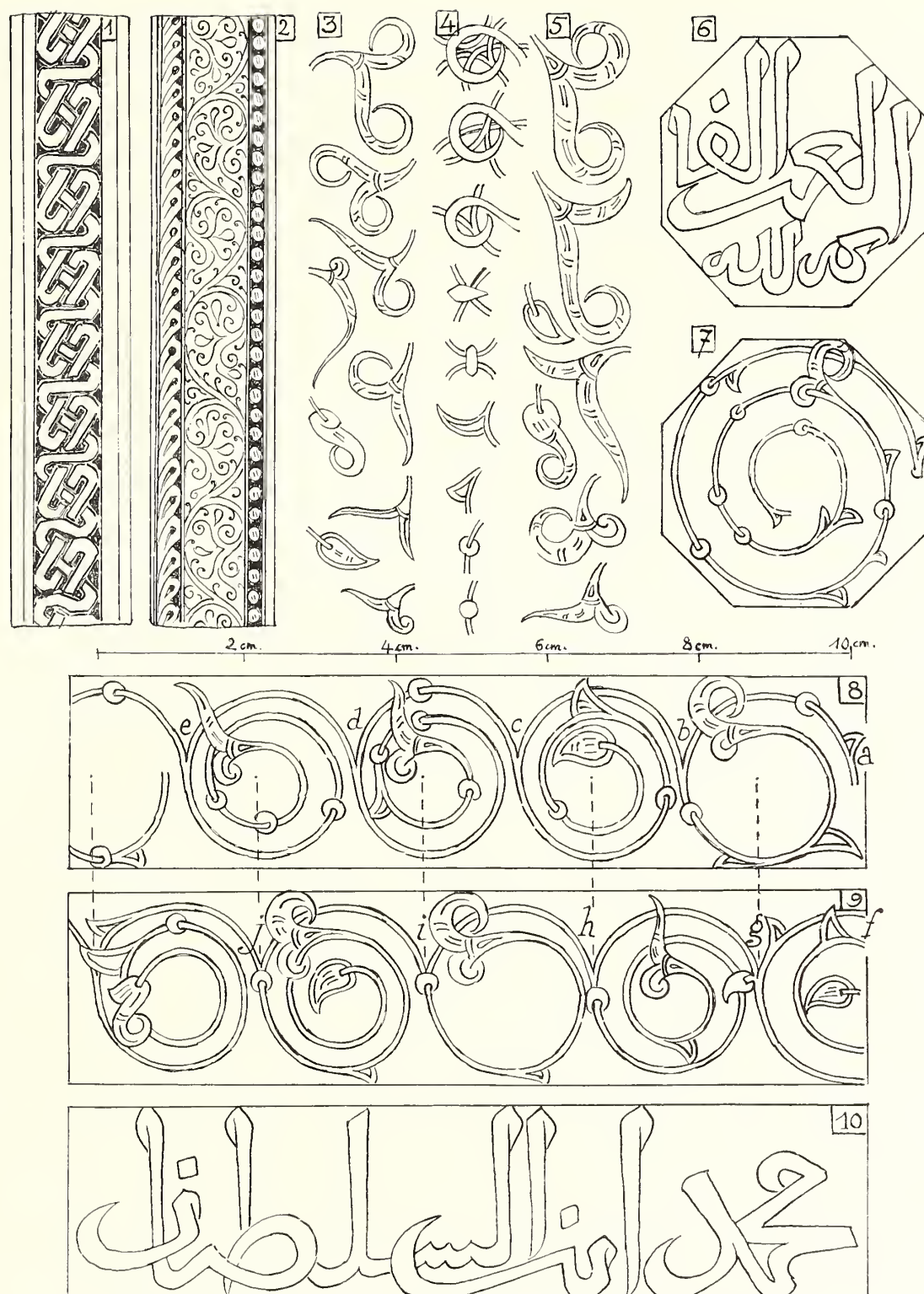


FIG. 3.—CARTABLE DU SĪDĪ MUHAMMAD BEN 'ABD ALLĀH, XVIII^e SIÈCLE
DÉTAILS DE LA GAUFREURE EXTÉRIEURE ET DES ORNEMENTS FLORAUX
ET ÉPIGRAPHIQUES DE L'INTÉRIEUR

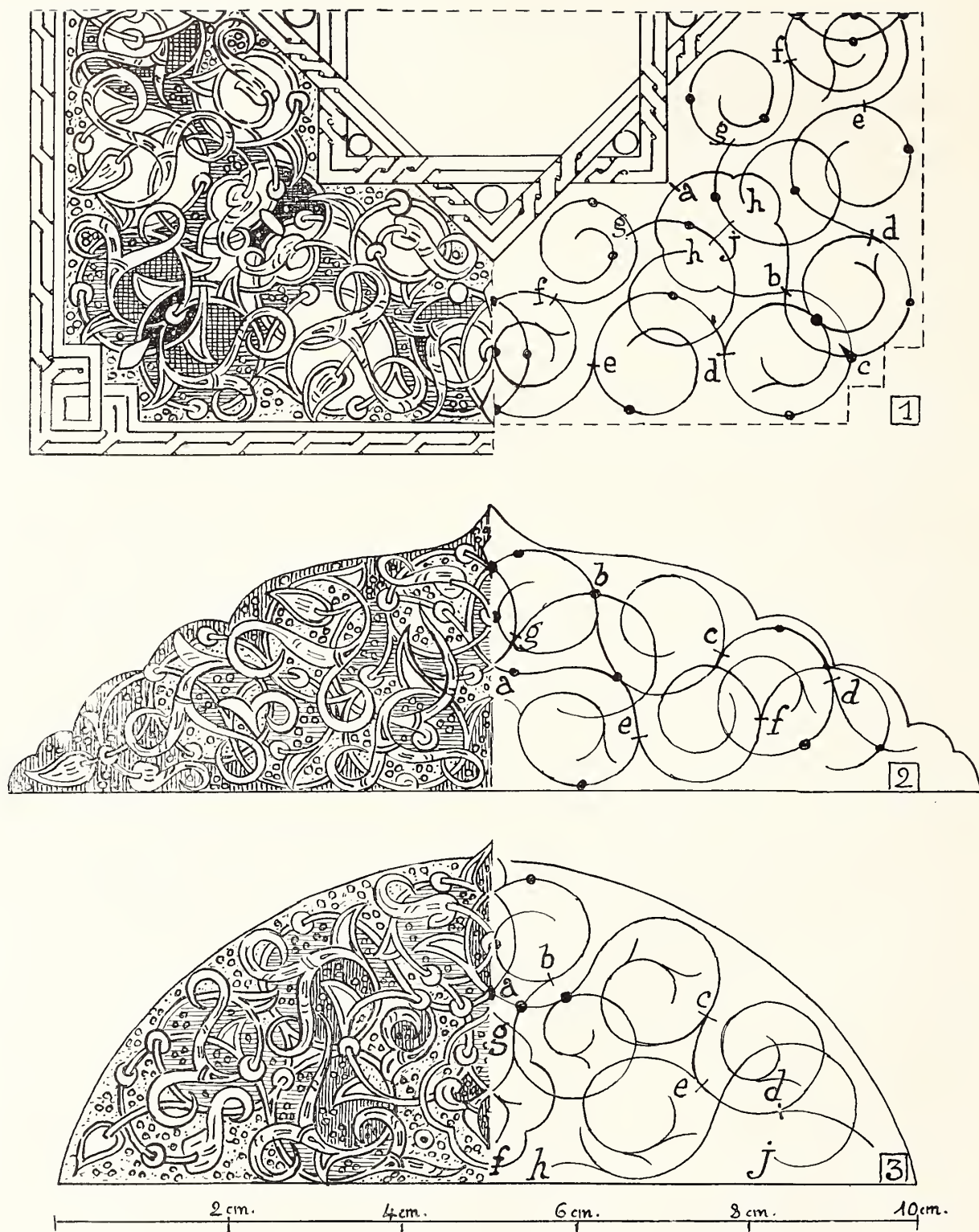


FIG. 4—CARTABLE DU SÎDÎ MUḤAMMAD BEN 'ABD ALLÂH, XVIII^e SIÈCLE
DÉTAILS DES ARABESQUES FLORALES

Petits ou grands, ces éléments épigraphiques et floraux sont fort harmonieusement distribués.

Il ne reste plus maintenant à étudier que la grand carré central, le segment latéral et le fronton des enluminures, où la flore se suffit à elle-même par la seule vertu de ses spires et de leurs ornements.

A l'exception du médaillon fait de deux carrés entrecroisés limités par une chaînette à deux brins et qui remplit le centre du carré, celui-ci foisonne d'arabesques florales symétriquement distribuées de part et d'autre des axes formés par les médianes et les diagonales, de sorte qu'il suffit d'en considérer une partie pour comprendre l'ensemble (*Fig. 4, 1*).

Ici, les volutes ne se succèdent plus les unes aux autres dans une position unique, elles forment un véritable rinceau dont les ramifications se développent dans un ordre logique. C'est ainsi qu'après être né en *a*, sur l'axe diagonal, et avoir décrit une courbe lobée avant de jouer son véritable rôle, la tige mère commence en *b*, sur l'axe qu'elle déborde pour le recouper un peu plus loin en *c*, et prendre le plus d'extension possible; le rameau qui s'en détache s'incurve de manière à être tangent à l'axe. A partir du point *d*, la tige continue sa course dans un sens contraire et donne naissance à un deuxième rameau. Du point *e*, troisième involution qui dépasse l'axe de gauche pour y revenir et permettre le retour du troisième rameau sur cet axe. Du point *f*, quatrième et dernière involution qui se développe vers la base de l'aire à couvrir. Pour l'harmonie, les divers éléments du rinceau ainsi formé devaient être à peu près égaux: ils le sont. Mais un vide, difficile à éviter, restait à combler. L'ornemaniste n'y a pas manqué en le couvrant d'une volute, *g*, analogue aux volutes voisines réunie par une ligature, en *j*, à la volute symétrique correspondante.

Jusqu'ici, le lacis floral est resté assez clair. Un peu plus compliqué est celui du fronton dont la tige principale (*Fig. 4, 2*) passant en *a*, dessine deux groupes de volutes, *b, c, d*, et *e, f* qu'un rejet, émanant de *g*, complète utilement.

Dans le segment latéral, la complication est plus grande encore (*Fig. 4, 3*) puisqu'au rinceau initial, émanant de *a*, et décrivant des involutions diverses *b, c, d, e*, dont la dernière à contre-sens, il s'en ajoute un autre à deux involutions, *h-j*, puis, sur l'axe, une courbe fermée et lobée (*f-g*).

Le feuillage qui émane des rinceaux ainsi établis est mince et souple. N'étaient les nervures intérieures qui en précisent la nature (*Fig. 3, ligne 3*), on les distinguerait à peine de leur support. Cet amaigrissement général, moins prononcé que dans les frises d'inscriptions, est encore une des caractéristiques les plus saillantes de l'époque.

Pour la commodité de la description, il a été fait jusqu'ici abstraction de la couleur qui, au même titre que le dessin, fait partie intégrante de l'enluminure, en est le complément indispensable, le but final, l'un réglant l'autre.

La dominante, quelque chose comme un champ ensoleillé rendu par une répartition savante d'or ni rouge ni vert, mais jaune, c'est à dire choisi dans sa nuance la plus chaude, et la plus caressante. D'or épandu dans la bordure principale du cadre qui s'embrase comme le fait le ciel, certains soirs, en se moirant d'ombres légères produites par les méandres

menus d'un rinceau tout juste perceptible. D'or qui illumine et détaille, merveilleusement, les arabesques florales réparties au centre, sur le côté et au sommet des pages enluminées. D'or adouci par la blancheur marginale qui se répercute par échos successifs dans les listels du cadre, dans les inscriptions des registres supérieur et inférieur, comme dans le médaillon central. D'or qu'avivent aussi de menues taches de carmin, de saumon, de lapis-lazuli, de vert, d'aubergine, subtilement distribués dans le champ arabesque qui s'anime ainsi de toutes les vibrations de la vraie lumière.

Cet éparpillement de la couleur, par petites taches juxtaposées se partageant un même fond, "impressionniste" en quelque sorte, est peut-être l'un des traits d'une époque qui voit de plus en plus petit et complexe. Pour aussi séduisant qu'il soit, il est loin de communiquer à l'enluminure le calme et la noblesse qui caractérisaient les œuvres d'époques antérieures où une seule nuance, en couvrant des aires plus vastes, n'était intérieurement mise en contraste que par quelques petites notes mais qui s'appliquaient à mettre en valeur les aires voisines, autrement colorées. Les harmonies étaient ainsi plus claires et plus calmes, et aussi plus magistralement orchestrées.

Tels sont les enseignements laissés par le cartable impérial qui, dans le domaine de la calligraphie et de l'enluminure, marque l'une des phases finales de l'un des arts les plus délicats que le Maroc ait connus.

A NUMBER OF YEARS AGO I WAS FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO STUDY A PEN-CASE, *ḲALAMDĀN*, OF bronze, inlaid with silver and copper, which had been brought from Bukhārā. According to its inscription it was made for a grand-wizier *Madjd al-mulk al-Muẓaffar* by a master called *Shādhī* in the year 607 H., *i.e.* 1210 A.D. (*Fig. 1*).

The pen-case measures 313 mm. in length with both ends rounded, 62.5 mm. in width and 48 mm. in height. It is ornamented on all its outer faces, including the bottom on which it stands, and also on the inside of the lid. It is intact with exception of its lock and hinges which had been fixed to it with silver nails: either the material was silver, not strong enough to last, or perhaps gold, taken off because of its value. An ink-recipient had originally been fixed inside the box. All the ornaments and inscriptions are engraved; into their outlines silver has been hammered, only for the main lines that frame the ornaments copper is used. So far, the only older example of this technique was a kettle in the former Bobrinsky collection.¹

The decoration of the upper side of the lid consists of a large middle field surrounded by a historical inscription, No. 1. The field shows an arabesque scroll-work. This is composed symmetrically to a middle axis and consists of two complete pointed ovals, an incomplete one as base, and a different design as upper ending. Hence, the arabesque scheme affects in its composition that of two trees, the roots of which are at the two ends, while the crowns touch each other in the middle. Persian ornamentation always favours the tree-like arrangement. All the leaves and flowers of the scroll-work are replaced by heads of animals (*Fig. 2*). There is a great variety of such heads among which may be discerned donkeys, greyhounds, dogs, antelopes, ibexes, hares, and a cat-like animal but with long ears, besides several ducks' heads. The design of some of the heads, especially that of the ducks, strongly recalls still the abstract and abbreviated rendering of the natural forms in late Sasanian art.

Around the outer rim of the lid runs—bisected by the lock—a frieze of small animals, pursuing each other, with a wavy tendril as background. The two parts of that frieze are symmetrical; both begin at the lock in front and end at the two hinges behind. All the animals are winged. The first animal is a sphinx with female head, then a griffin (*Fig. 3*), a greyhound, an antelope, a cat (?) with long ears, another long-eared animal, a lion, two antelopes, and a dog at the end. The only difference between the two sides is that one of the lions' heads is drawn in profile, the other in front-view (*Fig. 2*); the latter is still very "achaemenid" in character. The female head of the sphinxes is the same as that of the *hastae* of the lower inscription, No. 2 (*Fig. 3*). This frieze of animals, in or in front of a scroll, is a favourite motif of the period and our specimen ranks with the best, *e.g.* among those from Seldjūk Asia Minor.

¹ I have been told that a second piece, dated between the Bobrinsky kettle and this pen-case, has recently en-

tered the museum of the Hermitage.

The surfaces of the lower part of the case are filled with an inscription, No. 2, the vertical letters of which all end in female heads (*Fig. 4*), which form an almost continuous, rhythmical line of round pearl-like elements. The termination of the letters in human and animals' heads, known from early medieval Irish and Nordic miniature, is also a common feature of Armenian calligraphy, and has been considered as indicating that the special style originated in the neighbourhood of Armenia, *e.g.* in Moṣul. It is one of the reasons that this class of bronzes is generally called "Moṣul-bronzes." But the argument does not hold good and is contradicted by the date of the objects: the oldest examples of this style, for instance our pen-case come from Eastern Iran, and even if the technique was much employed and developed in Moṣul, that was not the place of its origin.

The lower face of the case shows three entire and two halved *tabulae ansatae*, the whole surrounded by a simple scroll. Similarly the inside of the lid shows three full and two halved lozenge-shaped ornaments connected by complicated "lucky knots" (*Fig. 5*).

The inscriptions are the following:

1. Around the lid; *naskhī* characters without all diacritical points, inlaid in silver between two lines of copper; small characters 12 mm. high; a simple scroll in the background behind the vertical *hastae* of the letters:

الصدر الاجل الكبير العالم العادل المويّد المظفر المنصور مجد الملك شرف الدولة والدين شهاب الاسلام
والمسلمين اختبار الملوك والساطين ضياء الملة بها الامة قدوة الاكابر والامائل عمدة المعالي سيد الوزراء ملك
النواب ذو السعادات دستور ايران صدر ونظام خراسان المظفر بن الصدر الشهيد مجد الملك ضاعف الله قدره

Translation:

"The most mighty Grand-Wizier, the great, the wise, the just, the authorized, the victorious, the triumphant, Madjd al-mulk [glory of the realm] *Sharaf al-dawla wa'l-dīn* [the honour of the government and the religion] *Shihāb al-islām wa'l-muslimīn* [the hero of the islam and the Muslims], the chosen among the kings and the sultāns, the light of the nation, the benefactor of the people, the example of the great ones and his equals, the pillar of dignity, the lord of wizers, the king of lieutenants, the blessed, the governor of Ērān, the grand-wizier and ruler of *Khurāsān*, al-Muẓaffar, son of the deceased Madjd al-mulk, Allāh may multiply his power!"

Al-ṣadr is the title of the grand-wiziers, and this is perhaps the earliest example in epigraphy. The series of the epithets from *al-ʿālim* to *al-manṣūr* is the usual one in royal protocols of the western provinces of Islam, *e.g.* Syria and Egypt, still during the whole VIIth century. The titles in *al-dawla wa'l-dīn* are sovereign titles in Iran till the end of the Vth century; in the West, *al-dunyā wa'l-dīn* "of this world and of the religion," is the usual royal style of the VIth and VIIth centuries. In the same way, the entire group of titles in *al-dawla wa'l-dīn*, *al-islām wa'l-muslimīn*, *al-mulūk wa'l-salātīn* is originally royal, but here already worn out and deteriorated. *Ḍiyā al-milla* and *bahā al-umma* are the royal attributes of the Būyids, also deteriorated. Instead of *ʿumdat al-maʿālī* we find at the Būyid period, *e.g.*

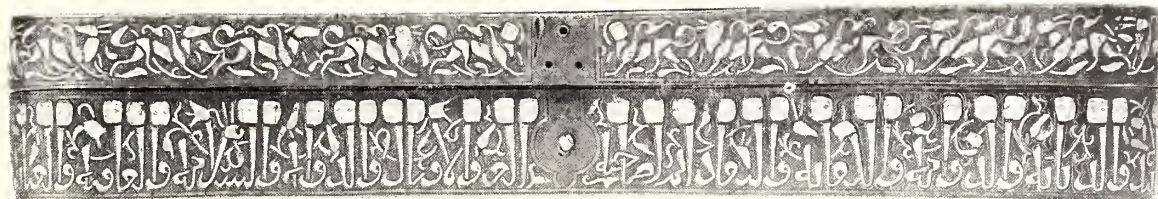
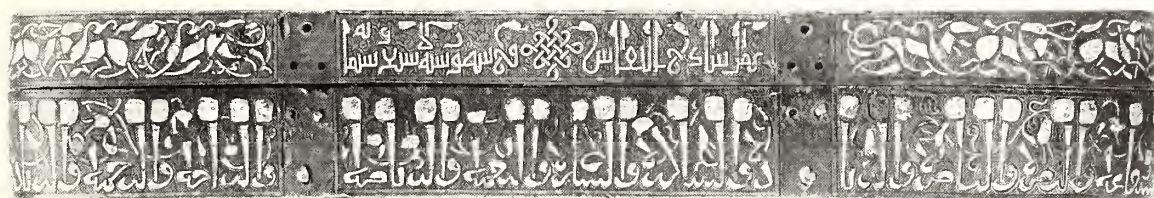


FIG. 1—BRONZE PEN-CASE MADE BY SHĀDHĪ IN THE YEAR 1210 A.D.

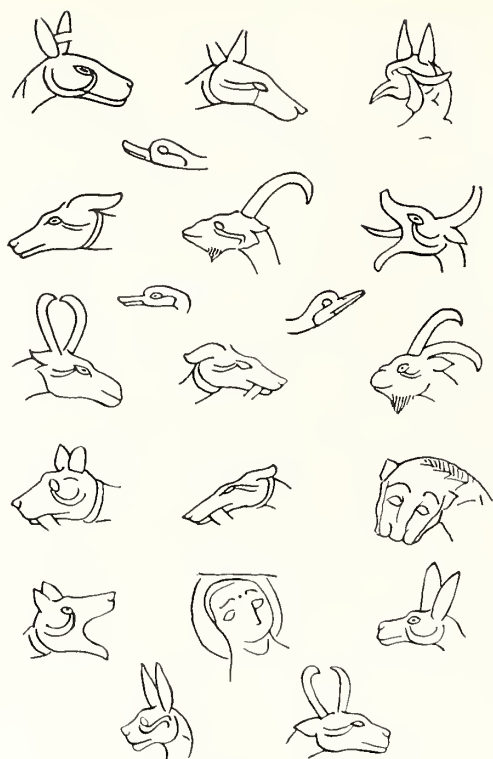


FIG. 2



FIG. 3

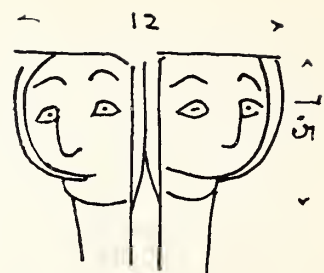


FIG. 4

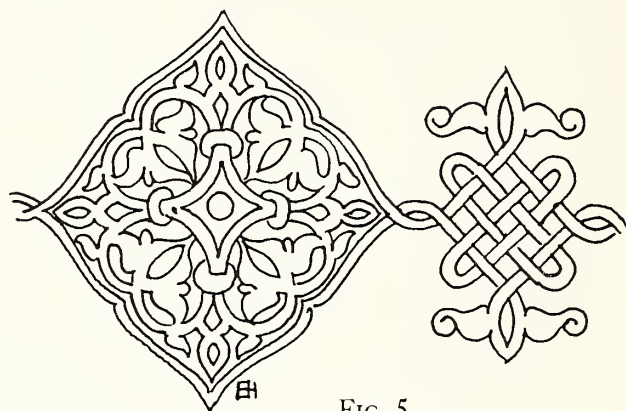


FIG. 5



FIG. 6

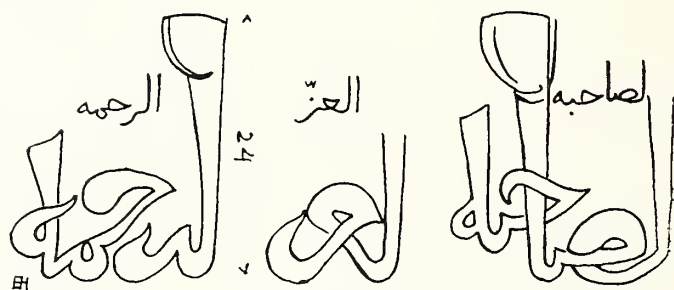


FIG. 7

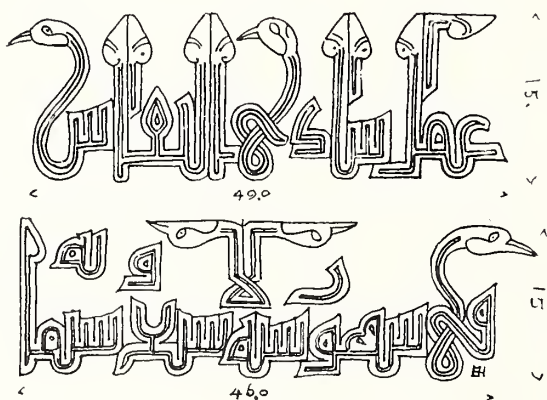


FIG. 8



FIG. 9

ḥalāk al-ma'ālī "the globe, sky," or, in Syria, *abū'l-ma'ālī* "the owner of heights (dignities)." *Dastūr i Ērān* is Persian in essence and language, the normal Persian title of the grand-wizier; also *ṣadr wa niẓām Khurāsān* is not used in the West; *niẓām* could hardly occur before the wezirate of the famous Niẓām al-mulk, wizier to the three great-Seldjūks. The epithet of the father, *al-shahīd*, originally means a man who died in a religious war as a martyr of the faith, but—although we know nothing about the life of that older Maḍjd al-mulk—apparently means simply "the deceased" in this instance. The script is normal for the period and region; a rather strange shape is assumed by the *alif-lām-alif* in *al-akābir* (Fig. 6).

2. All around the lower part of the case runs an inscription, interrupted by the lock and two hinges, in *naskhī* characters of a typically ghaznawid style (Fig. 7), without any diacritical points. The style of the script is intentionally opposed to that of the upper inscription. Height of the letters 25 mm.; the vertical *hastae* have *apices* formed by human heads (Fig. 4), the *kāf* and *lām-alif* have animal heads; a scroll with animal heads in lieu of flowers runs behind the *hastae*.

العز والاقبال والدولة والسلامة والعافية والعناية والقناعة والشفاعة والنصرة والناصرة والزيادة والشاكرة والشكر
والنعمة والرياسة والراحة والرحمة والرادة والتامة والديانة والدوام والكفاية والبقاء دائم لصاحبه

Translation:

"Power, success, government, salvation, health, care, content, protection, victory, victoriousness, prosperity, thanks, praise, favour, ease, mercy, prosperity, perfection, help, religiosity, duration, sufficiency, and longevity always to its owner!"

This is one of the most complete and elaborate eulogies known on similar objects. For the meaning, one must supply "Allāh may give." The word translated by "prosperity" appears twice: الرادة. Since it is written without diacritical points, one might avoid the tautology by different punctuation, but I cannot find another reading besides *al-ziyāda*.

3. On the rim of the lid, at the back between the two hinges, *kūfic* characters, 12 mm. high, in silver (Fig. 8). The letters *yā* and final *sīn* end in ducks' heads; a fine scroll on the background, is only engraved, not inlaid (Fig. 9). The two parts of this short inscription are divided in the center by a "lucky knot."

في شهور سنة سبع وستماية

عمل شاذى النقاش

Translation:

"Work of *Shādhī*, the chiseler." "In the months of the year six hundred and seven" (corresponding to 1210 A.D.).

From these inscriptions we learn that the owner was a grand-wizier of the name of Maḍjd al-mulk al-Muẓaffar, living about 607 H. In looking through the Arabic and Persian literature of the period, the first reference I found was a short notice in the 4th volume of Yāḥūt's geographical dictionary, p. 509, where he mentions, at Marw, besides the libraries, e.g. of Niẓām al-mulk and of one 'Amīd al-mulk, that founded by Maḍjd al-mulk, one of the

last wiziars (*sc.* of the Khwārizmshāh's). Yākūt wrote only a few years after the date of our pen-case and has used the library founded by its owner in Marw. With the place and the date thus known, it was a matter of patience to find our man in histories of Marw like that contained in al-Djuwainī's *History of Čingiz Khān*. The search was rendered difficult by the fact that the name had been disfigured into *Mudjīr* al-mulk in some manuscripts, مجير instead of مجير, and that this wrong spelling has been adopted by the editor, Muḥammad Khān Kazwīnī, in the Gibb Memorial edition of the *Ta'rīkh-i Djihāngūshā*.

'Alā al-dīn 'Aṭā-malik al-Djuwainī was a son of the *ulugh-bitikdji* "Chief-secretary" of Hulāgū Khān, and himself secretary to that prince. His work—*cf.* E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, II, 473—is written in the highly artificial style of the period, and, both for the style and the moral attitude of the author, is rather unpleasant reading. The prolix and affected wording, as usual, only badly covers the want of clearness of thought, and the lack of logic is equally revealed by the deficient disposition of the reports. As for the moral attitude: as a Muḥammadan and non-Mongol, and as the descendant of an old family, the author's sympathies are or ought to be on the side of the victims, but as secretary to the Mongol Khān he writes and must write in high praise of their barbarian deeds. Therefore, there is a continuous contradiction: the report is not at all objective, and, moreover, does not aspire at penetrating into the causes of the events, nor at judging merits and faults justly. Djuwainī, certainly, was not a true historian. It is therefore enough to give an abridged translation of his text, which is found on pp. 9 ff. of the Gibb edition.

"Marw had been the residence of the sultān Sandjar—governor since 491, great-Seldjūk from 511–552 H.—and was a great center. Greater prosperity reigned there than in any other town of Khurāsān; its inhabitants were innumerable, soil and climate excellent. Even the ordinary landowner equalled princes in wealth.

"Under sultān 'Alā al-dīn Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh, 559–617, first Madjd al-mulk Sharaf al-dīn al-Muẓaffar had been grand-wizier, but was dismissed from this post on account of a crime committed by his uncle, and Bahā al-mulk, son of Nadjīb al-dīn Qiṣṣadār became wiziars. Madjd al-mulk remained in the suite of the sultān (*mulāzim rikāb*) and accompanied the fugitive prince when he fled from Tirmidh.

"The disorder caused in Marw by that flight was increased, when an order from the sultān arrived to the effect that all military people should assemble in the fortress of Murgha and swear allegiance, whereas all those unable to leave Marw should stay, welcome the Mongols, and save themselves and their property by submission, an order that caused complete demoralization.

"Bahā al-mulk mobilized the military people, went to Murgha, but finding the place unfit for defense, went on to Yāk yāzar (باق يازار) leaving in Marw one of the most noble men, the *naḳīb*, as his lieutenant. The Naḳīb was inclined to submit to the Mongols and was supported in this attitude by the *shaikh al-islām* Shams al-dīn Hārithī; whereas the *sayyid adjall*, the *kādī* of Marw, opposed them. When the Mongol army under Yama and Subtay had reached Marūchak, the Naḳīb sent negotiators to meet them.

"Meanwhile, a Turcoman called Buḳa, the *kalāwuz* (*dux*) of the sultān, unexpectedly occupied the town with a great number of Turcomans, and the Naḳīb resigned. Buḳa increased his forces by giving amnesty to all returning deserters.

"After the sultān had taken refuge on the island of Abasgūn—where he died in 617 H./1220 A.D.—Maḍjd al-mulk left him in a hurry, riding on a donkey. When passing the fort of Sa'lūk, he was received with much honour by the *amīr* of the garrison, and went on to Marw.

"There he descended in the garden of Māhīābād outside the Sarmādjān gate, since Buḳa, the Turcoman, forbade him to enter the town. Soon however, so many notables and armed soldiers joined him that Buḳa was compelled to pay him his respects and to make his excuses. All the Turcomans, the number of which was over 70,000, placed themselves at his disposal. Maḍjd al-mulk was not satisfied with the rank of a grand-wizier, but aspired to become king. His mother had been a concubine in the *ḥaram* of the sultān, and he pretended that she had been pregnant when the sultān presented her to his father. Such rumours spread over *Khurāsān* and the populace, everywhere gladly accepted them and sided with him as the legitimate successor to the throne.

"At that time, the lords of *Sarakhs* had submitted to the Mongols, and the *shaikh* al-islām of Marw who was still a partisan of the Mongols, was in secret communication with the *qādī* of *Sarakhs*, one of his relatives. Maḍjd al-mulk became informed, but did not interfere. Once, when preaching in the mosque, the *shaikh* al-islām uttered, the lives of all enemies of the Mongols might be short, a remark that caused such a tumult in the mosque that the *shaikh* had to retract the word and to excuse himself, which he did awkwardly. Although this incident confirmed the suspicion of Maḍjd al-mulk, he did not act, for he had a high esteem for the office of the *shaikh* al-islām and his personal scholarlike character. But at last, a letter in the own handwriting of the *shaikh* was intercepted, addressed to the *qādī* of *Sarakhs*. The *shaikh* al-islām, when called to account, tried to deny, but when shown his own letter, collapsed, was judged and executed for treason. After the submission of *Sarakhs* to the Mongols, Maḍjd al-mulk sent an army-corps against that town.

"Meanwhile, the grand-wizier Bahā al-mulk had fled from Yāḳ to Māzandarān and proceeded from there to the Mongols. He explained that he could easily bring Marw to submission and extract a high yearly tribute from the town. The Mongols, pleased with his promises, gave him 7,000 (?) men to march against Marw. As a matter of fact, he knew nothing about the condition of the town, and was informed, only when reaching *Shahrastān*, of the fact that Maḍjd al-mulk had seized the power. Thereupon he dispatched messengers with a letter to Maḍjd al-mulk, writing that old personal differences ought to be forgotten, that the power of the Mongols was irresistible and nothing remained but to obey, that very large armies were approaching and already were destroying the towns of *Nisā* and *Bāward*, and that the object of his letter was to find a peaceful solution and to prevent complete annihilation. The letter produced great perturbation. At first, the council of Maḍjd al-mulk was disposed to leave and abandon the town entirely. After reflection however, they thought

it unworthy to trust an untrustworthy man and decided first to extract sure information from the single messengers. When that enquiry did not confirm the contents of the letter, they killed the messengers and sent about 2,500 of the sultānian Turks against Bahā al-mulk. When these passed Sarakhs, the officers of Bahā al-mulk deserted him, and the Mongols put him into chains, carried him with them to Tūs and executed him there. The army of Maḍjd al-mulk attacked Sarakhs. The ḳāḍī Shams al-dīn of Sarakhs, who had submitted to the Mongol general Yama Noyan and had been invested by Čingiz Khān with the lieutenantship of Sarakhs, was captured and executed.

"The fear of the Mongols was at a low level at that time, and Maḍjd al-mulk and his notables indulged, more than good, in entertainments and rejoicings. In the midst of this self-deception appeared Ikhtiyār al-dīn, *malik* of Āmūy, and announced that Mongol hordes were besieging the castles of Kallāt and Ḳal'a i Nau, and that other armies had made their appearance before Āmūy and were actually on his heels. Maḍjd al-mulk received him with all due honour and he camped at the side of the other Turcomans. Also Shaikh Khān and Oghul Ḥādḡib from Khwārizm arrived with 2,000 men. When the Mongol troop of about 800 men arrived, they were attacked, defeated and pursued by the Turcomans and the sultānian Turks. Sixty were taken prisoner, led through the bazaars of Marw and killed.

"But after that success, all the Turcomans made common cause, chose Ikhtiyār al-dīn as their chief, and deserted Maḍjd al-mulk. They began plundering the suburbs and surroundings of Marw and planned a night-attack on the town.

"At that time, Čingiz Khān had charged Tuli with the conquest of the towns of Khurāsān. He had an army of 70,000 men brought together in the region of Sarakhs, Abeward at the foot of the Iranian plateau, a region that was on the way of the Mongols. Before approaching Marw, a vanguard of 400 horses crossed a river, reached Marw during the night and spied out the situation of the town. Just then, the Turcomans, 12,000 strong, tried to surprise the town in the morning. The Mongols prepared them an ambush, took them by complete surprise and annihilated them by driving them into the river. Still before the arrival of the main army, the Mongols turned against the main body of the Turcomans and routed them completely in spite of their far superior power. They seized also all the cattle outside the town. This lasted till nightfall, and then followed the beginning of Muḥarram of the year 618, which put an end to the life of almost all the inhabitants of Marw.

"Tuli, the great hero, had an army like the sand of the desert. He himself arrived with his bodyguard of 500 horses in front of the Fīrūzī-gate and rode around the walls of Marw for six days, exploring the fortifications, until he came to the conclusion that they would not resist his attack. On the seventh day the battle began at the Shahrastān-gate. Tuli himself dismounted and carried the attack into the town. On the opposite side, a sortie of the garrison was repulsed. In the evening the town was completely surrounded, and the Mongols did not stop fighting during the night.

"Maḍjd al-mulk saw no possibility of escape, and, in the morning, he sent the *imām* Djamāl al-dīn, one of the most renowned priests of Marw, with many loads of presents to

Tuli to beg quarter. Tuli inquired about the wealthy people of the town and ordered to assemble 200 of them. Thereupon, the Mongol army entered the town and drove all the inhabitants out, which took four days and nights. All of them were seized, men and women separated, and with exception of 400 artisans, which were selected, and those of the men, women and children which were driven into slavery, all the rest were killed. It is said that every Mongol killed from 300 to 400 of the inhabitants. The walls and the citadel were razed, and the *makṣūra* of the mosque, dedicated to the rite of the *imām* Abū Ḥanīfa was burnt.

"When all that slaughter and destruction was finished, they appointed the old *amīr* Diyā al-dīn 'Alī, who had been saved on account of his retired life, to take over the government of the town, while Barmas, a Mongol, became chief of the garrison, *shihna*. About 5,000 people came out of their hiding-places and had gathered together, when a Mongol rear-guard arrived, and, to have their share, killed those too. Sayyid 'Izz al-dīn, a famous genealogist, counted for a number of days and nights the victims, and arrived at a total of 1,300,000 souls killed."

Our *ḡalamdān* has been made in 607 H. for Maḡjd al-mulk, when still grand-wizier to the *Khawārizmshāh* 'Alā al-dīn Muḡammad, hence before the dismissal from his high post, as *Djuwainī* tells. Maḡjd al-mulk perished in the cataclysm that befell Marw in 618. He owned his pen-case during those eleven years. It must have been with him as long as he was wizier, when, afterwards, he followed the fugitive sultān to Ābasgūn, when he rode on his donkey to Marw and established himself as sultān there, when the Mongols were already threatening the town; with a pen and the ink from this case he must have signed the death sentence of the unfortunate *shaiḡh* al-islām of Marw. Anyhow, the pen-case has survived the destruction of Marw by Tuli.

From that time on nothing is known. The preservation of the *ḡalamdān* proves that it has never been under the earth; it must have been kept in private possession or in a mosque or madrasa from 1222 down to 1928, for 700 years, an interesting example of the survival of antique treasures through the centuries.

EVIDENCE FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF KĀSHĀN POTTERY¹

BY RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

ONE OF THE MAIN TASKS FOR THE FURTHER STUDY OF PERSIAN CERAMICS, AS FOR ALL OTHER branches of Persian decorative arts, is to find out *where* certain types were manufactured. The aim of this article is to establish a Kāshān provenance for a number of pottery types,² thus linking them with a pottery center of whose activities we now have such ample literary evidence.³

LUSTRED WARES

One of the first great potters of Kāshān of whom we know is al-Ḥasan ibn 'Arabshāh, whose famous lustre tile mihrāb from the Maydān Mosque in Kāshān (now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin) is dated Ṣafar 623 H./1226 A.D.⁴ The piece carries no inscription which assigns it definitely to Kāshān, but the very fact that it served as the mihrāb of the main mosque of Kāshān, a city famous for the production of wall tiles, almost certainly establishes its Kāshān provenance. This provenance must also apply to the few remaining tiles of a second mihrāb because they are signed by the same potter (*Fig. 1*).

An outstanding feature of this second mihrāb is the two types of birds in the arabesque background: one, standing, with long legs; and a smaller, flying, his two wings visible (*Fig.*

¹ An outline of this article was given at the International Congress for Iranian Art and Archaeology, at the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, September, 1935.

² The first scholar who clearly distinguished between the two great schools of lustre painting was M. S. Dimand, but while he rightly attributed the pieces in "a sketchily impressionistic manner" to Rayy, he contrasted them with a "School of Veramin." M. S. Dimand, *Loan Exhibition of Ceramic Art of the Near East in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1931, p. XXI. The first scholar to have spoken of a distinguishable Kāshān pottery style, especially in contrast to the Rayy style, was Mr. A. U. Pope, who based his conclusions primarily on information gathered from commercial diggers and on fragments and sherds found on certain sites in Persia. The researches published herein approach the problem from another angle and by different methods, but the author wishes to acknowledge his thanks to Mr. Pope, since his ideas instigated the whole discussion.

³ See H. Ritter, J. Ruska, F. Sarre, and R. Winderlich, *Orientalische Steinbücher und persische Fayence-technik*, Istanbul, 1935. Even before the discovery of this valuable treatise, the importance of Kāshān as a

pottery producing center was well known. The term "Kāshī," "Kāshī," or "Kāshānī" (of Kāshān), referring usually to tiles, was used by Yāqūt (d. 626 H./1229 A.D.) (*Yacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1869, Vol. IV, p. 15), but more specifically by Ibn Baṭṭūta (d. 779 H./1377 A.D.) who saw "Kāshānī" tiles in Nedjef, Iṣfahān, Tabrīz, Ḳalḥāt in 'Omān, Birkī, and Mashhad, and compared them with his native "zalīdī" (azulejo). His comparison favoured the "Kāshānī" tiles, which were more brilliant and more beautifully painted. (*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, Paris, 1853, Vol. I, p. 415; Vol. II, pp. 46, 130, 225, 297; Vol. III, p. 79). That the appreciation of Kāshān wares lasted throughout the centuries is supported by the following passage from *Relation de Dourry Effendy*: "il s'y fait de si fine faïence appelée Kachy, Kiary, qu'elle passe dans les autres pays pour la porcelaine" (translated from the Turkish, Paris, 1810, p. 134).

⁴ F. Sarre-E. Kühnel, "Zwei persische Gebetnischen aus lüstrierten Fliesen," *Berliner Museen*, Vol. XLIX, Berlin, 1928, pp. 126-131, *Fig. 2* on p. 127.

2, *a* and *b*).⁵ These two birds, and especially the latter, which occurs more frequently and over a longer period, we must regard as two of the hallmarks of Kāshān pottery, which can be used as guides in identifying other Kāshān wares. We find them in exactly the same form on the oldest dated lustre star tile of which we know (now in the Musée Arabe, Cairo, No. 3162) and which, according to its inscription, was made "in the night from Tuesday to Wednesday in the last days of Šafar, 600 H./November, 1203 A.D. (*Fig. 3*).⁶

A closer study of the above-mentioned star and mihrāb tiles reveals further characteristic features for the identification of the Kāshān wares. The very fact that these motifs are unobtrusive, secondary details of the design makes them a more reliable piece of evidence, as minor designs would not ordinarily have been copied. The background spaces are filled with dots, minute spirals starting from a dot, or two dots linked together by a curved line. Furthermore, on the arabesques, which appear on the background of the inscription and on the cornice of the mihrāb, are rows of fine dots contrapuntally set against a thicker dot; these dots also appear on the leaves below the personages on the star tile. Rows of dots are again to be found, in both cases, on the birds. Finally, the entire background decoration, including even the tiny spirals, on both the mihrāb tiles and the star tile, is in white reserved or scratched out of the lustre ground. All these stylistic similarities indicate that the star tile must have been made in the same place as the mihrāb tiles, that is, in Kāshān.

Accepting this fact, then, we must make a more detailed study of those decorative features of the star tile which have no counterpart in the mihrāb tiles, for they provide us with still further clues. There is, first of all, the general style of the star tile with its minutely drawn painting covering the entire field, leaving no undecorated spaces other than the "moonshaped" faces of the personages, with their exceedingly small mouths, surrounded by a halo. These bare white sectors of the design present a distinct contrast to the dense scroll patterns on the bodies and the background.

The two leaves (*Fig. 2, c*) below the personages are also important. They have a characteristic shape, seen from the side, fine hatchings, and dots. Less important but still worthy of note are:

- 1) the large arabesques on the scrolled background, on the dress of the personage at the right;
- 2) the flamelike elongated leaf rising over the voluted bud leaves, in the bottom corner (*Fig. 2, d*);
- 3) the scrolls on either side of the halos;
- 4) the fine Naskhī writing, in lustre on the white glaze, on the rim.

An additional detail characteristic of Kāshān is to be found on the large mihrāb made by al-Ḥasan ibn 'Arabshāh (in the Berlin Museum). It also appears on the two tiles by the same potter, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and on the Cairo star tile, but

⁵ Most of the drawings for this article were made by Miss Lucille Grulioiw, for whose cooperation the author is very grateful.

⁶ G. Wiet, *L'Exposition Persane de 1931*, Cairo, 1933, pp. 32-3.

in the last two cases, it is not so clear and obvious as in the first. On the large framing inscription frieze, the end of which contains the signature and date, are elegantly drawn vines with arabesques and leaves, many of them in the shape of the typical Kāshān leaves as seen on the Cairo star tile (*Fig. 2, c*). On these mihrāb tiles, however, the outline of these leaves and arabesques is formed by framing arabesques enclosing the central field of the leaf, and this center field, in turn, is filled with dots and spirals (*Fig. 2, e*). Since the tiny framing arabesques are undecorated, they seem to be merely a small white edge, contrasting with the densely decorated background and center of the leaf.

With the above guides, we are able to identify a great number of lustre vessels and lustre tiles as being of Kāshān origin. There are so many of these in the museums and private collections that in the following discussion only a few, primarily the early, dated ones, will be cited.

The Cairo star tile is closely related to the large dish with the seated old man surrounded by two rows of youths, dated Djumādā II, 607 H./1210 A.D., in the Havemeyer Collection, New York,⁷ which in turn is undoubtedly of the same place of origin as the large plate with the bathing scene, (identified by E. Kühnel with the story of Khusraw and Shīrīn) of the same date, in the G. Eumorfopoulos Collection, London,⁸ and the plate with the young horseman, dated 604 H./1207 A.D., in the Kelekian Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁹ Likewise of Kāshān origin must be the dish with the arabesque decoration, dated Rabī' I, 606 H./1209 A.D., in the British Museum,¹⁰ and the large, deep bowl with the central medallion filled with two personages, dated Ṣafar, 608 H./1211 A.D., in the University Museum, Philadelphia (*Fig. 4*).¹¹

Among the lustre tiles, the majority of which must come from Kāshān, if we accept the above stylistic identifications, might be especially mentioned the star tile with a seated figure, dated 608 H./1211 A.D., in the Major Gayer Anderson Collection, Alexandria;¹² the star tile with the camel rider, dated 624 H./1227 A.D., in the Museum of the Academy, Kiev;¹³ the star tile with two personages, dated 657 H./1259 A.D., in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;¹⁴ all the wall tiles from the Imāmzāda Yaḥyā in Varāmīn, many of them dated 661 H./1262 A.D., which, though without personages or animals, have the Kāshān floral and arabesque

⁷ Wiet, *op. cit.*, p. 33 and Pl. XXa; see also E. Kühnel, "Dated Persian Lustred Pottery," *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, Philadelphia, 1931, pp. 223, 225, and Fig. 4.

⁸ For colour reproduction, see H. Rivière, *La céramique dans l'art musulman*, Paris, 1913, Vol. I, Pl. 35.

⁹ R. Ettinghausen, "Important Pieces of Persian Pottery in London Collections," *Ars Islamica*, II, Ann Arbor, 1935, Fig. 17 opp. p. 54.

¹⁰ R. L. Hobson, *A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East in the British Museum*, London, 1932, Figs. 45 and 45, a.

¹¹ Photograph through the courtesy of the forthcoming *Survey of Persian Art*, Oxford. The photograph for

Fig. 21 was also provided by the same source.

¹² Wiet, *op. cit.*, Pl. 22, b, and Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Fig. 7.

¹³ V. Kratchkovskaya, "L'art musulman dans la collection Khanenko," *Mémoires du Comité des Orientalistes*, Vol. II, Leningrad, 1926, pp. 15-6; L. Linko, "La céramique persane du XIII^e siècle du Musée des Arts de l'Académie d'Ukraine," *Musée d'Ukraine*, 1927, Pl. V (in Ukrainian); *L'art des pays de l'Islam*, Catalogue par M. Wiasmitina, Musée des Arts de l'Académie des Sciences d'Ukraine, Kiev, 1930, Pl. IV (in Ukrainian).

¹⁴ Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Fig. 8.



FIG. 1.—TILES FROM A LUSTRE MIHRĀB MADE BY AL-HASAN IBN 'ARABSHĀH
KĀSHĀN, EARLY XIII CENTURY, LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

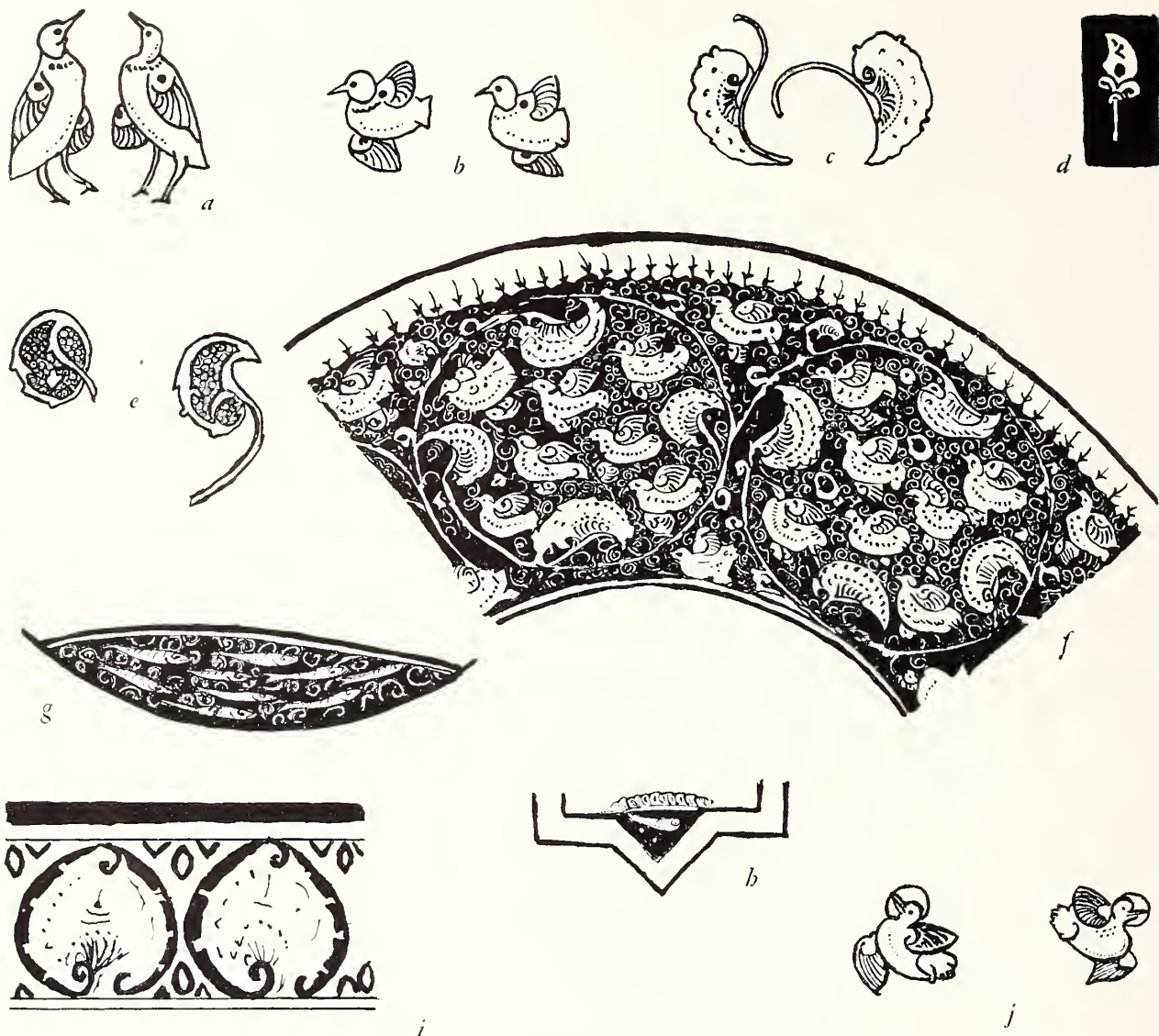


FIG. 2—KĀSHĀN MOTIFS

a—LONG-LEGGED BIRDS

c—LEAVES, SIDE VIEW

b—FLYING BIRDS

d—FLAME-LIKE LEAF

(MOTIFS *a-d* FROM A LUSTRE STAR TILE, DATED 600 H./1203 A.D., CAIRO, MUSÉE ARABE)

e—LEAVES WITH FRAMING ARABESQUES (FROM A LUSTRE MIHRĀB MADE BY AL-ḤASAN IBN 'ARABSHĀH, 623 H./1226 A.D., BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN)

f—SPIRALS FILLED WITH BIRDS AND LEAVES, FESTOONED EDGE WITH SMALL RADIATING ARROW-LIKE STROKES (FROM A LUSTRE BOWL DATED 608 H./1211 A.D., PHILADELPHIA, UNIVERSITY MUSEUM)

g—POOL WITH FISH (FROM A LUSTRE BOWL DATED 607 H./1210 A.D., NEW YORK, HAVEMEYER COLLECTION)

h—POOL WITH FISH (FROM A LUSTRE STAR TILE FROM DĀMGHĀN, DATED 665 H./1266 A.D., PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE)

i—HEART-SHAPED LEAVES (FROM A LUSTRE EWER, XIII CENTURY, TEHERAN, NATIONAL MUSEUM)

j—FLYING BIRDS WITH HALO (FROM A LUSTRE SPANDREL, XIII CENTURY, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, NO. 311-1902)



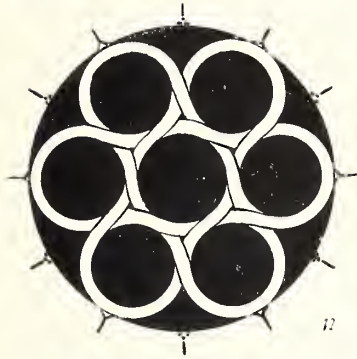
k



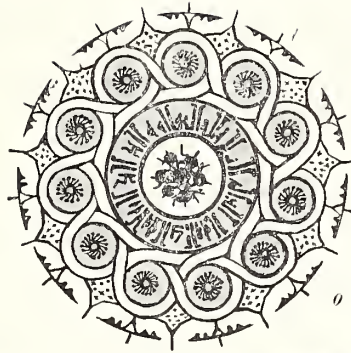
l



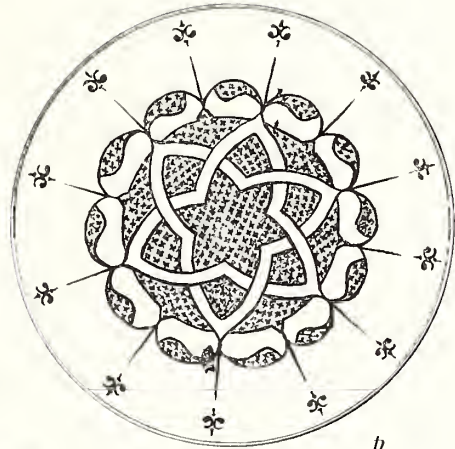
m



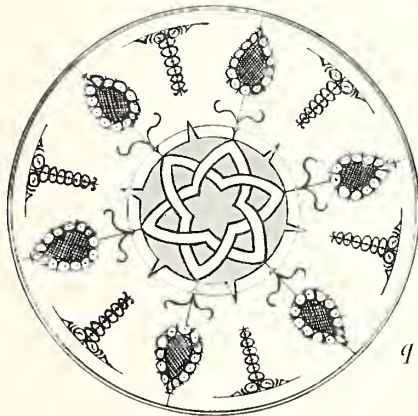
n



o



p



q



r



s

k—TREFOIL LEAF (FROM A LUSTRE STAR TILE DATED 738 H./1338 A.D., NEW YORK, AUTHOR'S COLLECTION)

l—DENTATED LEAF (FROM A LUSTRE STAR TILE DATED 738 H./1337-8 A.D., NEW YORK, AUTHOR'S COLLECTION)

m—INTERLACING PATTERN (FROM A LUSTRE BOWL DATED 600 H./1203 A.D., NEW YORK, H. KEVORKIAN COLLECTION)

n—INTERLACING PATTERN (FROM A PAINTED BOWL, FIRST HALF OF XIII CENTURY, SALE CATALOGUE, HOTEL DROUOT, PARIS, MAY 7, 1934, NO. 37)

o—INTERLACING PATTERN (FROM A PAINTED BOWL DATED 610 H./1214 A.D., LONDON, COLLECTION OF SIR ERNEST DEBENHAM)

p—INTERLACING PATTERN (FROM A PAINTED BOWL, EARLY XIII CENTURY, FORMERLY BERLIN, O. SKALLER COLLECTION. SALE CATALOGUE, P. CASSIRER—O. HELBING, BERLIN, DEC. 13, 1927, PL. XVII, NO. 103)

q—INTERLACING PATTERN (FROM A PAINTED BOWL, EARLY XIII CENTURY, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, NO. 726-1909)

r—INTERLACING PATTERN (FROM A PAINTED BOWL, EARLY XIII CENTURY, FORMERLY BERLIN, O. SKALLER COLLECTION. SALE CATALOGUE, P. CASSIRER—O. HELBING, BERLIN, DEC. 13, 1927, PL. IX, NO. 106)

s—INTERLACING PATTERN (FROM A LUSTRE BOWL DATED 609 H./1212 A.D., BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALLERY)

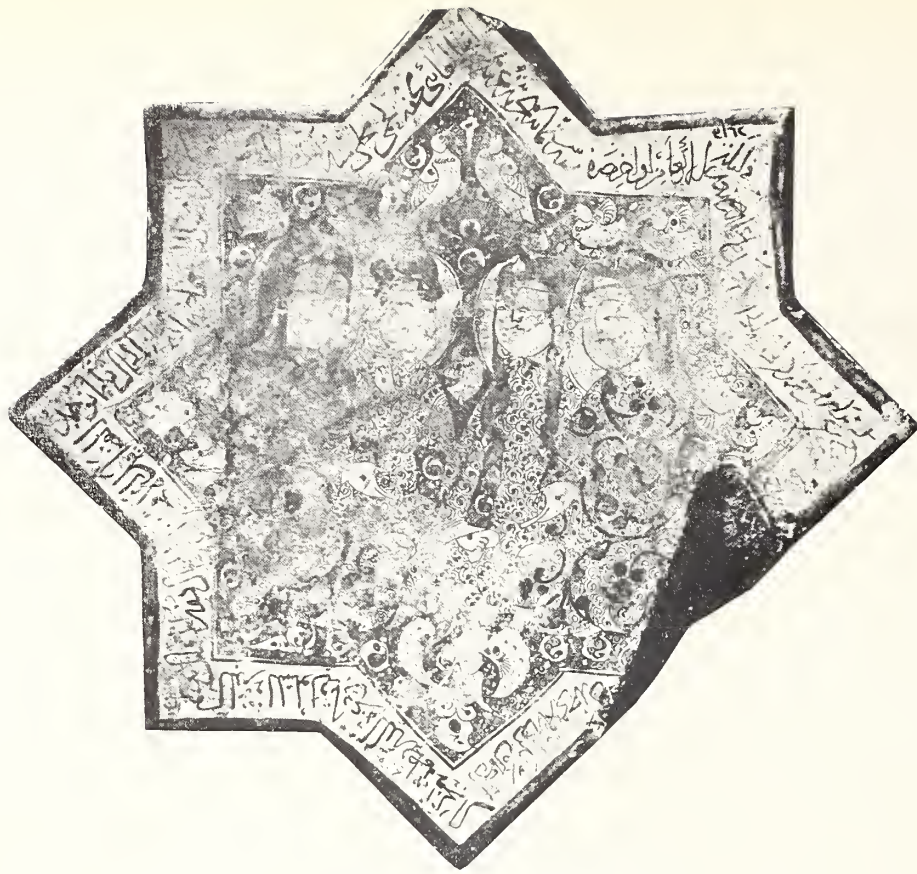


FIG. 3—STAR TILE WITH LUSTRE PAINTING
KĀSHĀN, 600 H./1203 A.D., CAIRO, MUSÉE ARABE



FIG. 4—BOWL WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, KĀSHĀN
608 H./1211 A.D., PHILADELPHIA, UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

designs;¹⁵ the Dāmghān tiles, dated 665 H./1266 A.D.;¹⁶ and many others. Incidentally, some of the Dāmghān tiles show a seated hare, regardant, with one paw lifted, the same as we find on a mihrāb tile fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum (*Fig. 5*), the Kāshān origin of which is shown by the two types of Kāshān birds (see p. 44), indicating that these star tiles and the mihrāb tile might have been made in the same workshop.

Nearly all the known lustre mihrābs must have been made in Kāshān (see p. 45), but one, said to have come from Mashhad, should be mentioned here because of its design, so different from the others yet which can nevertheless be connected with Kāshān. Three tiles from this mihrāb are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. They represent perhaps the finest artistic and technical qualities of mihrāb decoration. The background design for the large letters is painted, and in contrast to nearly all other mihrāb inscription tiles, is in low relief. Though the fine scrolled background for the inscription is missing, the arabesques with their dots and the typical Kāshān leaf, here part of a trefoil pattern, on the cornice, point definitely to the Kāshān style (*Fig. 6*).

If we study all these pieces, we can identify several more features which were not to be found on the Cairo star tile but which add to the repertoire of Kāshān identifications. Around the central medallion of the large bowl dated Ṣafar, 608 H./1211 A.D., in the University Museum, Philadelphia (*Fig. 4*), we note two distinct characteristics: a wide band composed of spirals forming almost a full circle which is filled with typical Kāshān birds and leaves (see pp. 44, 45); around the festooned edge of this band, a frieze of radiating small strokes with two oblique strokes (*Fig. 2, f*).

Many of these Kāshān vessels and tiles have in the foreground a small brook filled with one, two, or more fish, as in the Havemeyer plate dated D̲jumādā II, 607 H./1210 A.D., and in the Dāmghān tiles (*Fig. 2, g and h*).

¹⁵ Dated examples published in F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin, 1901-10, Fig. 76; *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Antiquities of the Musulman East in the Hermitage*, Leningrad, 1925, Pl. VI; M. A. Chughtai, "Lustred Tiles from Samarra in the Ashmolean Museum," *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VII, Hyderabad, 1933, Pl. opp. p. 472; H. Wallis, *Persian Ceramic Art Belonging to Mr. F. Ducane Godman*, F.R.S., Vol. II (The Thirteenth Century Lustred Wall Tiles), London, 1894, Pl. XXXV; Hobson, *op. cit.*, Fig. 113; M. S. Dimand, "Dated Specimens of Mohammedan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, Vol. I, New York, 1928-29, p. 99, Fig. 1.

¹⁶ The Dāmghān tiles represent an especially interesting and comprehensive collection of Kāshān designs, some containing personages, others animals, arabesques, or floral patterns. A comparison of these panels with the Cairo tile shows, however, that the design of the personages is broader, less minute, while the clearly

drawn framing arabesques on the leaves, as seen in the Berlin mihrāb of 623 H./1226 A.D. (*Fig. 2, e*) have disappeared and are replaced by mere white edges with tiny protrusions, a development which was, however, already foreshadowed in other, earlier pieces and which becomes even more pronounced in later, imitative ones. On the whole the quality of the design was maintained on a high level during the sixty-five years that elapsed between the making of the Cairo and the Dāmghān tiles, proof enough that the Mongol invasion did not affect Kāshān as much as it did other centers.

Dated examples are published in: Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Fig. 9; Wallis, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII; Kühnel, "Datirte persische Fayencen," *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1924, Pl. 24, Fig. 4; G. Migeon, *Exposition des arts musulmans au Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, Paris, 1903, Pl. 35; *Sale Catalogue of the O. Homberg Collection*, Georges Petit Galleries, Paris, 1908, No. 127.

The fragmentary ewer in the National Museum, Teheran, whose Kāshān provenance is proven by the two rows of flying birds (*Fig. 7*), has two other bands, one at the bottom of the body and the other at the top of the neck, with a further Kāshān feature: a rather sketchily drawn frieze of heart-shaped leaves with dots along the edge and a few strokes radiating from the lower end, every leaf set in a heart-shaped frame separated from the adjoining frame by simple spandrel decorations (*Fig. 2, i*). This design frequently appears on the outside of Kāshān bowls, especially on those with straight, tapering walls and a rather high ring foot, a shape common in Kāshān pottery (*Fig. 8*). Another characteristic and common Kāshān shape is that of the lustre bowl dated 600 H./1203 A.D., in the possession of Mr. H. Kevorkian, New York (*Fig. 9*); its Kāshān provenance is proven by the interior decoration of circle-like spirals filled with leaves and birds and the radiating strokes along the festooned edge (see p. 51, *Fig. 2, f*).¹⁷

The Kāshān pottery style becomes even more distinct when it is compared with pottery of about the same date yet of different provenance. Wallis published in 1891¹⁸ the drawing of a waster found at Rayy (*Fig. 10*) belonging to the late Mr. F. Ducane Godman of London and given by him to the British Museum in the same year. The fact that this important document was found so early would justify our accepting the allegation that it actually comes from Rayy, since the stereotype commercial attribution of almost every fine piece of pottery to that site had not yet been initiated. The waster shows only a small part of a very sketchy design painted in a light yellow to brown lustre (a lustre tone, by the way, much yellower and lighter than the ordinary Kāshān lustre, which is generally a deep brown or olive green). The design, fragmentary as it is, is, however, so characteristic and so often found on the base of other lustre vessels, that from it we can easily reconstruct the whole piece or at least form an idea of its style (*Fig. 11*). The complete decoration was much broader in design, and not obsessed by the *horror vacui* of the Kāshān style with its all-penetrating scroll work. It shows, on the contrary, ample undecorated surface, and never the contrast of dense body and background design, on the one hand, and the pure white of the "moon" faces, on the other, as we find on Kāshān pottery. The main design of these Rayy pieces is either reserved from the lustre ground, which is partly enlivened by large arabesques also reserved from the lustre ground,¹⁹ or the whole is actually painted rather sketchily in lustre on the white glaze, as, for instance, in the case of the large plate dated Şafar, 587 H./1191 A.D. (in the Art Institute of Chicago) whose outside decoration is similar to the Rayy waster in the British Museum.²⁰

¹⁷ Shapes of vessels are often of great help in identifying their provenance, though they are not in every case altogether reliable.

¹⁸ H. Wallis, *Persian Ceramic Art in the Collection of Mr. F. Ducane Godman*, F.R.S., Vol. I (The Thirteenth Century Lustrated Vases), London, 1891, Pl. XXIX, 8; Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁹ Rivière, *op. cit.*, Pl. 37.

²⁰ Kühnel in *Eastern Art*, Figs. 2 and 3. It seems worth mentioning that the late Mr. F. Ducane Godman gave to the British Museum in 1891 a set of fourteen lustre fragments from Rayy, thirteen of which represent the Rayy style, while only one shows the Kāshān lustre style and may have been imported to Rayy. In the same

So far we have approached the Kāshān lustre problem by examining the early wares. Nearly all of the above-mentioned pieces date from the first decades of the thirteenth century, when the production of this pottery began. But investigation of the later pieces provides further convincing evidence for the Kāshān attribution.

A mihrāb tile in the possession of Mr. H. Kevorkian²¹ is signed "‘Amal (work of) Yūsuf ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū (!) Ṭāhir" (Fig. 12). This potter has the same father, grandfather, and great-grandfather as the man who wrote the treatise about Kāshān pottery, in which he signed himself "Kāshānī" (of Kāshān). Hence, the maker of the Kevorkian tile must be his brother, and therefore, also of Kāshān. We know the exact date when the mihrāb was made, as the Musée Arabe in Cairo owns another tile from it giving the date, Ramaḍān 710 H./1311 A.D. (Fig. 13). This mihrāb was not the only great achievement of that workshop. In the British Museum is a lustre tile dated Sha‘bān 709 H./1310 A.D. (Fig. 14) which must also have been made by the same potter, since both sets are almost identical; the only conspicuous differences are a lower border, and the application of a blurred blue in the flowers on the cornice, both of which appear only on the British Museum piece.²²

museum there is a collection of twenty-three lustre fragments from Rayy, bought by the Museum in 1906, all of which show the Rayy style that is demonstrated by the waster in question. Finally, the *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Near Eastern Pottery in the Burlington Fine Arts Club*, London, 1885, shows on Pl. 2 a group of six lustre fragments found in Rayy, and all of them in the Rayy lustre style. It is also interesting that such long established collections as the Godman Collection in Horsham, England, and the D. K. Kelekian Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which were made long before Kāshān was exploited by commercial diggers, contain lustre vessels chiefly from Rayy and also those which have been called "Sulṭānābād ware." Kāshān lustre vessels are rarely illustrated in the catalogues of these two collections. And a now common painted ware, which is in the further pages of this article also attributed to Kāshān and of which the dated pieces in the Debenham and Gamsaraghan Bey collections and in the National Museum, Stockholm are characteristic, is not represented in these catalogues by even one piece. It seems, then, that only the more valuable and coveted lustre vessels of Kāshān were exported, as were the tiles and mihrābs, and thus were brought to Rayy.

On the other hand, on a not very large number of lustre vessels decorated in the Kāshān style the design is less carefully drawn and the lustre is yellower, more smeary, and not of the full lustrous sheen usually found in Kāshān wares. Furthermore, one occasionally finds on these vessels some Rayy arabesques similar to those

found on the Rayy waster in the British Museum (Fig. 10). All this points to the imitation of the Kāshān style, probably in provincial workshops, perhaps instigated by emigrant Kāshān potters who had left their native town. We now have literary knowledge of one of these itinerant pottery experts, the brother of the owner of the chief mihrāb workshop in Kāshān, who in about 1300 A.D. had left his native town and had settled in another pottery center, Tabriz (Ritter . . . *Steinbücher*, p. 14). These imitation Kāshān wares are of course very difficult to define, especially since our knowledge of them is limited, partly because only a few of this type have as yet been published. But a comparison of the imitation with a genuine Kāshān piece will often easily disclose the former.

²¹ The same collection includes nine more tiles from this mihrāb (width, 10¼" to 16¼"; height in all cases, 15") showing words from Sūra ii, verse 256: ". . . ilāha illā huwa'l-ḥayyu | 'l-qayyūmu lā ta'kḥudhuhu | sinatun walā naumun lahu mā | fi'l-samawāti wamā | | ḍi man dhā'lladhī | | bimā shā'a wasi'a | kursiyyuhu | | walā ya'uduhu hiftuhumā wahuwa 'l-'aliyyu 'l-'aṭīmu. (The dots indicate tiles still missing from the group.)

²² Other related pieces may be cited. The flowers on the cornice of the mihrāb tile in Cairo have the same decoration (the center of each leaf filled with tiny circles, each surrounding a dot) as on the raised arabesques on the niche-shaped mihrāb fragment dated 707 H./1307 A.D. in the Victoria and Albert Museum

In the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, there are four tiles forming a small mihrāb, from the Imāmzāda Yaḥyā, Varāmīn, dated 705 H./1305 A.D. and signed by the scribe, 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Ḥusainī Kātibī, and the potter, Yūsuf ibn 'Alī (ibn) Muḥammad. The latter signature, except that it does not include the name of the great-grandfather, is the same as on the Kevorkian tile; hence this potter is most probably, as Prof. Sarre has already pointed out,²³ the brother of the "Kāshānī" who wrote the treatise on Kāshān faïence, and, as we now know, identical with the maker of the Kevorkian tile. This Leningrad piece, together with two smaller mihrābs, one dated 710 H./1310 A.D., in the J. G. Arthur Collection, Algiers, and another, undated, signed Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad Bābūyeh, the builder,²⁴ in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, do not represent the finest products of the Kāshān workshops, for the Cairo-Kevorkian and the British Museum mihrābs are of superior quality, products which maintained to a certain degree the high standard of the large thirteenth century mihrābs.

On the mihrāb tiles of 1310 and 1311 A.D., definitely made in Kāshān, we find stylistic details which, in the preceding pages, were defined as characteristics of the Kāshān style, especially the scrollwork scratched out of the lustre ground, and the fine dots set contrapuntally against a larger dot, on the leaves. In general construction and decoration they are similar to the tiles of the large mihrāb from the Imāmzāda Yaḥyā, Varāmīn made by 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭāhir in Sha'bān 663 H./1265 A.D. (possession of Mr. Kevorkian; on loan in the University Museum, Philadelphia), who, according to his signature, must have been the father of the potter who made the mihrāb tiles of 1310 and 1311, and therefore also a "Kāshānī." This Varāmīn mihrāb, in turn, is similar to those made by al-Ḥasan ibn 'Arabshāh (see p. 44),²⁵ one more reason why these latter must also have been made in

(see R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, Fig. 18 opp. p. 57). The small trefoil leaves reserved from the lustre ground on the main sections of both of these pieces are also alike. Hence, there can be hardly any doubt that the Victoria and Albert Museum fragment comes from the same workshop as the Cairo piece. Another piece, in the possession of Mr. Kevorkian, most probably from the Kāshān workshop of Yūsuf ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, is the mihrāb-shaped tomb for Khadīdja, the daughter of the Imām Dja'far ibn Imām Muḥammad al-Bākir, dated Rabī' II, 713 H./1313 A.D. or Rabī' II, 723 H./1323 A.D. (the date is doubtful, as only an 'ain is left of the word giving the "tens" of the date). This piece, which was in the Munich Exhibition, 1910 (see *Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst*, Munich, 1912, Vol. II, p. iv) had, originally, the full signature of the maker or makers, but now only the words 'Alī and al-Ḥusain(ī) are left,

names which occur also in the signatures on the small mihrāb now in the Hermitage Museum (Ritter . . . *Steinbücher*, Pl. IV). But the similarity of construction and decoration of both pieces indicates that they were most likely made in the same workshop, and they both represent a cheaper type of mihrāb as compared with the two others, which were composed of many small tiles.

²³ Sarre, in Ritter . . . *Steinbücher*, p. 68.

²⁴ Prof. Sarre, quoting M. S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts*, New York, 1930, p. 131 and Fig. 75, gives the first name as "Ḥusain," but it seems more probable that this name should be read "Ḥasan." A further examination of the inscription shows that the name, as quoted by Dr. Dimand, is not complete. The author is indebted to Prof. Herzfeld for his help in deciphering the last name.

²⁵ Sarre, in Ritter . . . *Steinbücher*, Pls. I, III, p. 65.

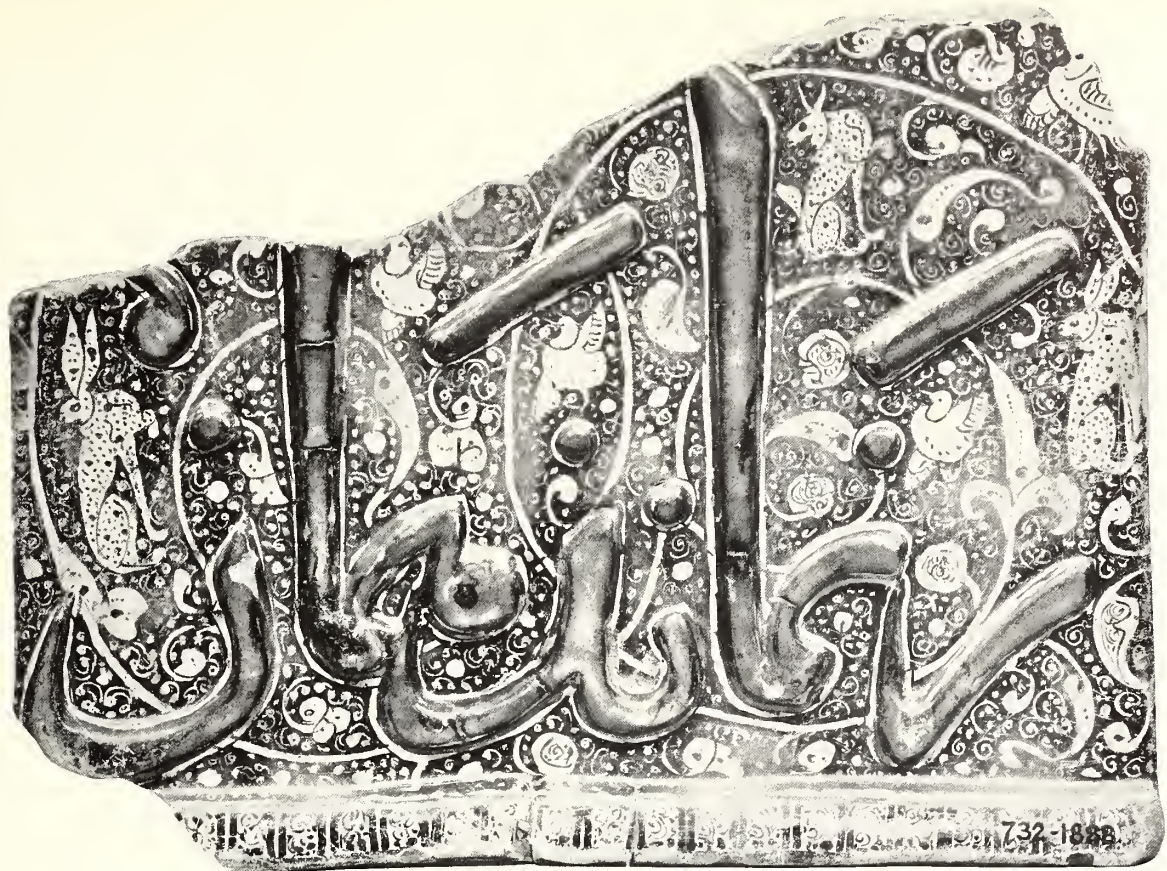


FIG. 5—FRAGMENT OF A MIHRĀB TILE, WITH LUSTRE PAINTING
KĀSHĀN, XIII CENTURY, LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM



FIG. 6—TILE WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, FROM A MIHRĀB
KĀSHĀN, XIII CENTURY, LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM



FIG. 7—EWER WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, KĀSHĀN
XIII CENTURY, TEHERAN, NATIONAL MUSEUM

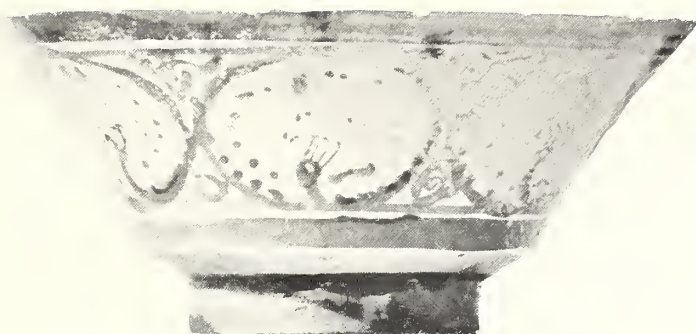


FIG. 8—OUTSIDE OF BOWL, WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, KĀSHĀN
DATED 600 H./1212 A.D., BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART
GALLERY (COURTESY OF WALTERS ART GALLERY)



FIG. 9—OUTSIDE OF BOWL, WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, KĀSHĀN
600 H./1203 A.D., NEW YORK, H. KEVORKIAN COLLECTION

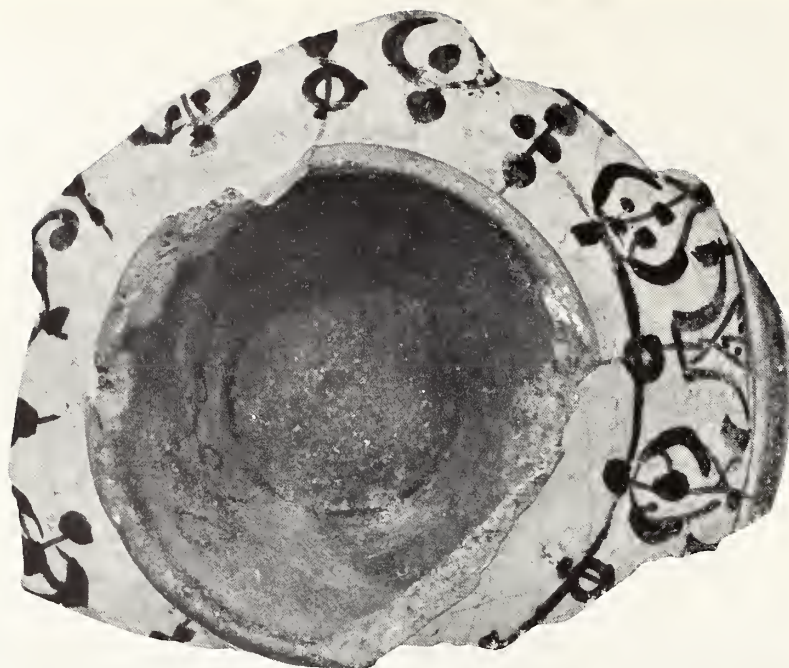


FIG. 10—WASTER, WITH LUSTRE PAINTING FOUND AT RAYY
LATE XII CENTURY, LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM



FIG. 11—ALFARELLO WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, RAYY
LATE XII CENTURY, LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

Kāshān, supporting the proposition on which we based, in the opening section of this article, the defining characteristics of the Kāshān lustre style.

The evidence provided by these signatures is further corroborated by the inscriptions on several star tiles which the author has recently found, stating, in one form or another, that the tiles were made in Kāshān. The British Museum possesses a star-shaped tile showing two personages in Mongol dress, and the heads of two attending servants in the corner spandrels, the design painted in lustre with blurred spots of blue and turquoise (Fig. 15). On this tile the date (in words) 739 H./1338 A.D.,²⁶ is followed by the words: "*bimaḳām Kāshān ḥamāhu Allāh ta'ālā 'an ḥawādith al-ayyām*" (in the place Kāshān; may Allāh who is exalted protect it from the accidents of time!);²⁷ hence the tile must be unquestionably a product of Kāshān. Compared with the thirteenth century tiles, in this one the degeneration of the Kāshān lustre style is clearly marked, although its definite character is still discernible: there is the same minutely drawn design, out of which the heads of the personages with their halos remain the sole undecorated space; the flying bird, which in this case, as in some earlier cases²⁸ (Fig. 2, j), has a little disc halo around his head; and finally, the background pattern of two dots connected by semi-circles.

This dated Kāshān tile in the British Museum is the only *figural* tile inscribed "Kāshān" which the author has so far found, but several others with *floral* decoration, all dating from about the same time and inscribed "Kāshān" have been discovered. On the star tile (diam. 210 mm.) in the author's collection (Fig. 16) the date, Radjab, 738 H./1338 A.D., is followed merely by the word "Kāshān." The decoration is painted in a dull but still well preserved yellowish lustre with reflections varying from gold to purple, the little brook in the foreground and the pointed leaves are outlined in blue, and the leaf stems and the framing line on both sides of the inscription are also in blue; turquoise appears in the center of the leaves, and also in the brook.

Another star tile (diam. 207 mm.) in the author's collection (Fig. 17) bears the formula: "*Bimaḳām Kāshān ḥamāhu Allāh ta'ālā*" (in the place Kāshān; may Allāh who is exalted

²⁶ The lower part of the tile is a restoration belonging to a tile from another workshop, as revealed by the design and lustre. Thus the month "*Shawwāl*" given in this lower part does not belong to the date on the main section of the tile.

²⁷ On this and on all the other tiles of the group under discussion the name of the city is always written with *kāf*, while the author of the treatise on the Kāshān faience manufacture writes his *nisba* with *ḥāf* in accordance with the spelling of the place in earlier Arabic geographers (G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 209). The Arabic word "maḳām" creates certain difficulties, as it usually means "place of abode" or "residence," and not merely "place" in the sense of "city." The most literal translation of

this inscription would therefore be "in a place in Kāshān" while "in the place Kāshān" would be the translation if we assume that the scribe did not have a very good knowledge of Arabic. "Maḳām" can also mean in later Arabic, "shrine," as Mr. I. M. Amin was kind enough to point out to the author, but this translation would make no proper sense. As one of the other tiles is signed with merely the word "Kāshān," there can be no doubt of the actual meaning of the formula, which was to state that the tile was made in Kāshān.

²⁸ *The Godman Collection of Oriental and Spanish Pottery and Glass*, 1865-1900, London, 1901, Pl. XXI, No. 155. This piece is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see Fig. 2, j).

protect it!) (*cf.* footnote 27), following the date Djumādā II, 738 H./1337–8 A.D. The decoration is painted in deep brown lustre on an impure white or rather, creamy white glaze, and the lustre, unsuccessfully applied, is blurred on the upper part of the tile. The lines framing the inscription rim on both sides, and also the outlines of the inner octagon are painted in blue, while the central dot and the inner part of the octagon frame is filled with turquoise.

An artificially composed tile in the collection of Sir E. Denison Ross of London (*Fig. 18*) includes a large fragment with the date 738 H./1337 A.D. followed by the formula: “*Bimaḳām Kāshān ḥamāhu Allāh ta‘ālā ‘an al-ḥidhān*” (In the place Kāshān; may Allah who is exalted protect it from the accidents [of time]), while a small fragment forming the upper left corner of a star tile in the possession of Mr. H. Kevorkian carries, after the date 738 H./1337 A.D., the words “*Bimaḳām Kāshān*,” (*Fig. 19*), a formula which may originally have been followed by phrases similar to those found on Figures 15, 17, and 18.

There is no doubt that these tiles represent an already degenerated style, both technically and artistically, but in spite of this, we recognize that their Kāshān features, authenticated by the inscriptions, are similar to those attributed to Kāshān in the earlier part of this discussion. All of them have the background design of dots, many of them connected one to the other by a thin curved line, but they are much coarser than on the fine scrolled background of the earlier production, and the small spirals have disappeared. The two principal leaf forms on these later pieces (*Figs. 2, k and l*), of which especially the elongated, dentated type seems to be characteristic, derive from the vine leaves on the miḥrāb tiles (*Figs. 12 to 14*), and the leaf design in the lower corner of the Cairo tile dated 600 H./1203 A.D. (*Fig. 2, d*). These late leaf motifs retain the rows of fine dots set contrapuntally against a thicker dot (see p. 45), just as in the earliest pieces, and the late tile illustrated in Figure 16 has, in the foreground, a little brook with a fish-like design, again a derivative of an earlier motif. But beyond these individual details, all these late tiles show in general the minute drawing of the Kāshān style, though no longer as refined as in the earlier production.

In these late Kāshān tiles, the floral design either starts from the lower point of the star or is fixed in a more dynamic, circular arrangement. The central field is in one case enclosed in a frame set within the inscription band that follows the star-shaped outline of the tile itself (*Fig. 17*). The spandrels thus formed between the inner and outer frames are filled with a leaf design which is characteristic for this late period.²⁹

Taking all these features together, we are able to link a large group of tiles to those aforementioned ones which are specifically signed “Kāshān.” In some cases the identification is very simple, as for the star tile (*Fig. 20*) in the collection of the author, the companion piece of Figure 17. They are both inscribed Djumādā II, 738 H./1337–8 A.D. Here we

²⁹ The insertion of an inner frame is already to be found in the set of tiles from the Khānākāh Pīr Ḥusain near Baku, dated 682–684 H./1283–85 A.D., now in the

Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, as pointed out to the author by Mme. Kratchkovskaya.

have again the same poor technical qualities of the impure lustre on an impure white glaze, the same elongated leaf on the scrolled background, and the inner frame set within the star outline, the spandrels likewise filled with a leaf design. These are also found on a large set of tiles in the Kunstindustrimuseum, Oslo (one of them is illustrated in Figure 21), of which two are dated 738 H./1337 A.D., and a third, Rabī' I, 738 H./1337 A.D. In all of them an inner frame, varying in shape and design from tile to tile, is set in the outer frame. In some, a degeneration of motifs is already noticeable. Several tiles of another set of the same type, belonging to Mr. H. Kevorkian (one in this set, with the inserted upper right corner carrying the words "*Bimaḡām Kāshān*," mentioned on p. 60, is illustrated in Figure 19), are dated 738 H./1337 A.D. One of this set is important because the main feature of the field design is a bird, apparently mutilated in form, yet unique because so far no bird nor animal has appeared as a prominent decoration on any of the late Kāshān tiles. A tile of the same family, in the Metropolitan Museum (No. 20.120.49), contains unfortunately an incomplete date, giving only the month "*Sha'bān*" and stopping after the word "*Sana*." The design is not quite so degenerated as on the others, hence it may be somewhat earlier. Two pieces of richer design but nevertheless of the same group, of undoubtedly Kāshān origin, are a tile with three personages in Mongol dress, dated Šafar, 739 H./1338 A.D., in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin,³⁰ and a tile in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Breslau,³¹ showing a bird, with a disc halo, near a brook with fish, the design set in a second frame carrying the date, Rabī' I, 738 H./1337 A.D. The remarks on p. 59 on the stylistic character of the Kāshān tile in the British Museum can be more or less repeated for the figural tile from Berlin, where we again have a contrast of the undecorated area around the face against the densely covered garments and background, so characteristic for Kāshān, and also, the leaves, the brook with degenerated fish design, in the foreground, and dotted scrolls on the background.

That the production of these late star tiles continued, is proven by the tile with floral decoration (a cypress tree of turquoise center outlined in blue; on either side, leaves and flowers) dated 740 H./1339 A.D., formerly in the J. R. Preece Collection.³²

It is interesting to compare the style of these late lustre tiles with the lustre mihrābs that were still being made at that late date in Kāshān. Fortunately we have a set of mihrāb tiles dated 734 H./1333 A.D. (*Fig. 22*) which, when compared with the earlier mihrāb tiles, of the beginning of the fourteenth century (see *Figs. 12 to 14*), do show a definite decline,

³⁰ Kühnel in *Eastern Art*, Fig. 10. The date, Šafar, 669 H./1271 A.D., is given in that publication. The word giving the "hundreds" of the date is faded and could also be read as "sab'imi'atin" (700) while the word giving the "tens" seems more like "thalathīn." We thus arrive at the date, 739 H./1338 A.D. which more closely corresponds with the style of this late tile.

³¹ Kühnel, *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, Pl. 23,

Fig. 3, where the date is given as 638 H./1240 A.D. but the last, rather poorly written word of the date is more probably "sab'imi'atin" (700). This later date is supported by the late style of the piece and its connection with the group under discussion.

³² Wallis, *Tiles*, Pl. XXIII, 1. This illustration gives a good idea of the colour values of these late Kāshān tiles.

just as in the star tiles.³³ Another example of the late, degenerated style is the gable-shaped section of a lustre mihrāb, now in the Freer Gallery, Washington (*Fig. 23*) whose decoration is even closer stylistically to the late Kāshān star tiles than to the mihrāb tiles of 1333 A.D. There seems hardly any doubt that this degeneration of the lustre wall decoration was due to the competition of other or newer techniques: for instance, the pottery mihrābs in blue and white, turquoise, or mosaic faïence, of the fourteenth century, of which we have many dated examples, and the wall decorations and mihrābs of stucco.

NON-LUSTRED WARES

Although the lustre vessels and the lustre tiles are decidedly a group of their own, some of their designs or shapes can be used to identify other Kāshān types.

The flat plate (*Fig. 24*) in the Charles B. Hoyt Collection (on loan in the Metropolitan Museum) has a black design painted under a turquoise green, now crackled, glaze; the diameter is 350 mm., and the shallow fluted walls have 29 scalloped indentations.³⁴ Exactly the same shape, diameter, and unique number of scalloped indentations are to be found on several lustre plates³⁵ of whose Kāshān origin there is not the slightest doubt, on the basis of the stylistic evidence discussed above. A few other lustre plates of the same shape, but with a different number of scalloped indentations, are also of a definite Kāshān style.³⁶ All of this evidence seems to point to the fact that the large, flat plates with many scalloped indentations represent not only a typical, but also an exclusive, Kāshān shape. This must hold true especially for the plates with 29 indentations, a type of which we have more examples

³³ Two tiles belonging to the same or a very similar set in the Havemeyer Collection, New York, were exhibited in the loan exhibition of Near Eastern pottery in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1931. M. S. Dimand, *Loan Exhibition of Ceramic Art of the Near East*, New York, 1931, Nos. 76-7 and Illus.

³⁴ This plate was already on view in the Metropolitan Museum in 1929 and was also exhibited in the International Exhibition of Persian Art in London, 1931 (*Catalogue*, No. 104-F).

³⁵ This group includes:

a) plate with young horseman, dated 604 H./1207 A.D., Kelekian Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum (see Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, *Fig. 17* opp. p. 54).

b) plate with the bathing Shīrīn, dated Djumādā II, 607 H./1210 A.D., Eumorfopoulos Collection (Rivière, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. 35). *Freer*

c) fragmentary plate with three horsemen and two flying genii, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (F. Sarre, *Denkmäler*, Vol. I, p. 58, *Fig. 64*).

d) fragmentary plate with allover pattern of arabesques, harpies, sphinxes, leopards, and personages, possession of Mr. D. K. Kelekian, New York (unpublished).

³⁶ This group includes:

a) large fragmentary plate with mounted queen ac-

companied by horsemen, with sixteen indentations. Kelekian Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum (D. K. Kelekian, *The Kelekian Collection of Persian and Analogous Potteries*, 1885-1910, Paris, 1910, Pl. 27).

b) plate with mounted horseman, dated 654 H./1256 A.D., with twenty indentations. In the possession of Mr. A. Garabed, London (unpublished).

c) plate with four seated personages, with 30 indentations. In anonymous sale, Paris, May, 1934 (*Catalogue des tableaux anciens . . . objets d'art et de curiosité, faïences persanes. . . Sale, Hotel Drouot*, Paris, 7 May, 1934, No. 24, Pl. opp. p. 7). It is very likely that this plate, which has, like the other plates with 29 indentations, a diameter of 35 cm., is so much repaired that the restorer when adding new sections to the rim increased the number of indentations to 30. This is all the more possible since even in the original state, the indentations are not equal in size (see the following footnote).

d) Another plate of the same shape, in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (No. 48.1237), unpublished, with a black rosette painted under a turquoise glaze, has 19 indentations. But in contrast to all the other pieces of this shape so far cited, which are all definitely Kāshān, no clues as to origin of this piece can so far be given.



FIG. 12—TILE FROM A LUSTRE MIHRĀB, WITH SIGNATURE OF YŪSUF IBN ‘ALĪ IBN MUḤAMMAD IBN ABĪ ṬĀHIR KĀSHĀN, 710 H./1311 A.D., NEW YORK, H. KEVORKIAN COLLECTION



FIG. 13—DATED TILE FROM THE SAME MIHRĀB AS FIG. 12, KĀSHĀN, 710 H./1311 A.D., CAIRO MUSÉE ARABE



FIG. 14—DATED TILE FROM A LUSTRE MIHRĀB MADE BY YŪSUF B. ‘ALĪ B. MUHAMMAD B. ABĪ ṬĀHIR, KĀSHĀN, 700 H./1310 A.D., LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM



FIG. 15—STAR TILE WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, KĀSHĀN
739 H./1338 AD., LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM



FIG. 16—STAR TILE WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, KĀSHĀN
738 H./1338 AD., NEW YORK, AUTHOR'S COLLECTION



FIG. 18—STAR TILE WITH LUSTRE PAINTING COMPOSED
OF SEVERAL FRAGMENTS, KĀSHĀN, 738 H./1337 AD.
LONDON, COLLECTION OF SIR E. DENISON ROSS

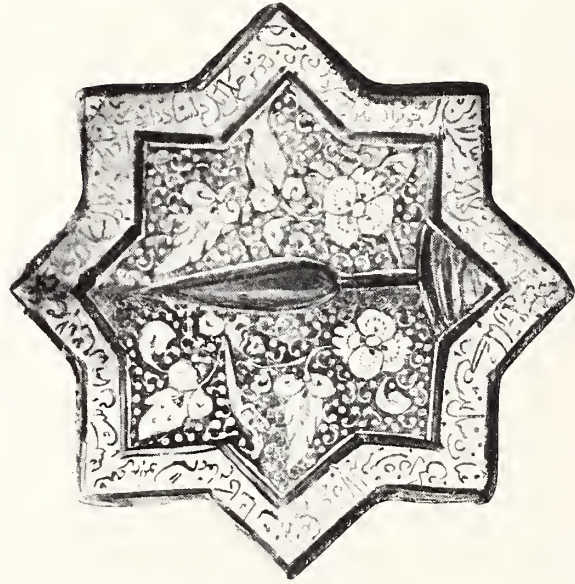


FIG. 19—STAR TILE WITH LUSTRE PAINTING COMPOSED
OF TWO FRAGMENTS, KĀSHĀN 738 H./1337 AD.
NEW YORK, H. KEVORKIAN COLLECTION



FIG. 17—STAR TILE WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, KĀSHĀN
738 H./1337 AD., NEW YORK, AUTHOR'S COLLECTION



FIG. 20—STAR TILE WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, KĀSHĀN
738 H./1337-8 AD., NEW YORK, AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

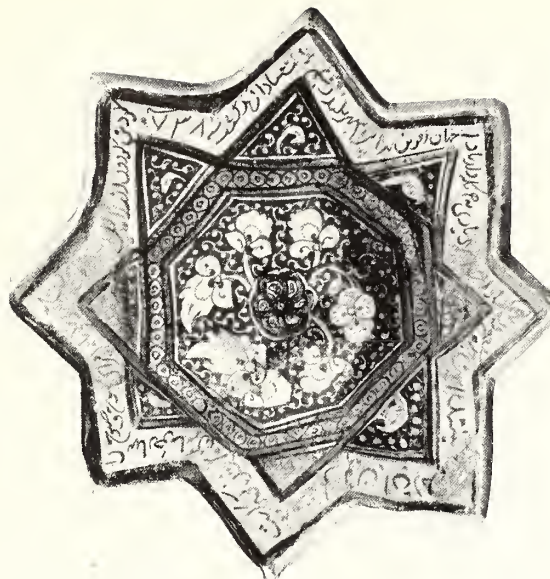


FIG. 21—STAR TILE WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, KĀSHĀN
738 H./1337 A.D., OSLO, KUNSTINDUSTRIUMUSEUM

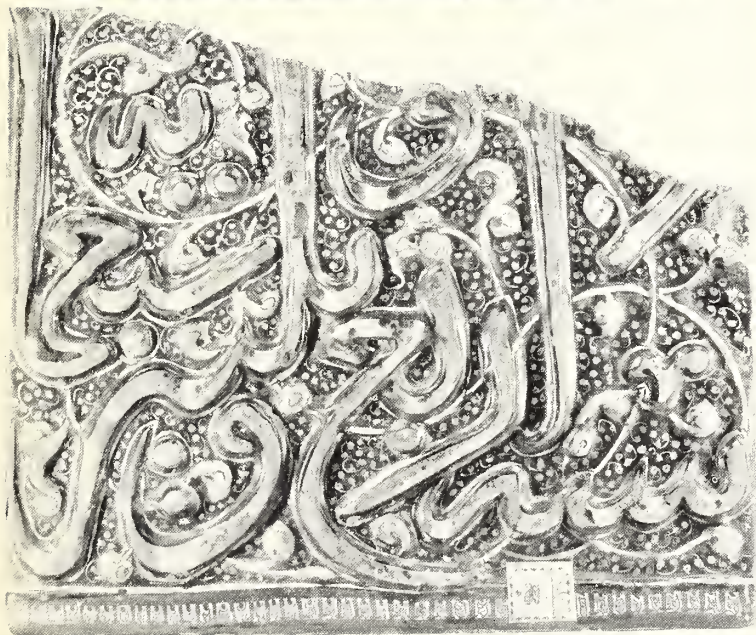
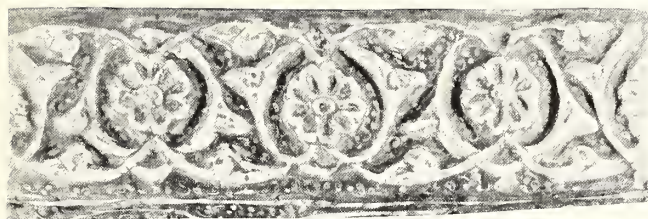


FIG. 22—DATED TILE FROM A LUSTRE MIHRĀB, SHOWN TOGETHER
WITH THE CORNICE FROM ANOTHER TILE OF THE SAME SET
KĀSHĀN, 734 H./1333 A.D., TEHERAN, NATIONAL MUSEUM



FIG. 23—SECTION OF LUSTRE MIHRĀB, KĀSHĀN, FIRST HALF OF
XIV CENTURY, WASHINGTON, D. C., FREER GALLERY
OF ART (COURTESY OF FREER GALLERY OF ART)



FIG. 24—PLATE WITH BLACK PAINTING UNDER TURQUOISE GLAZE, KĀSHĀN
EARLY XIII CENTURY, NEW YORK, CHARLES B. HOYT COLLECTION
(ON LOAN IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART)



FIG. 25—SECTION OF LUSTRE MIHRĀB WITH INSCRIPTION WRITTEN BY
MUHAMMAD IBN ... (REMAINDER OF SIGNATURE IS RESTORATION), KĀSHĀN
XIII CENTURY, NEW YORK, D. KELEKIAN COLLECTION

than all the others combined. The division of a circle into 29 sections is such an unusual feat ³⁷ that once it was accomplished, the same mould must have been used over and over again in the workshop. This seems so plausible that we could hardly accept the hypothesis that the Hoyt plate could have been made by a potter in any other center than Kāshān, for although in the technique of the black painting under the turquoise glaze it is so entirely different from the lustre wares, and even its design is at first glance so apparently unrelated to Kāshān pieces, still, its unique shape definitely links it with that center.

This conclusion may seem surprising. The central arabesques show a breadth of design not to be found in the Kāshān lustre wares so far mentioned. There is, furthermore, ample undecorated space and not the slightest trace of the characteristic fine scrollwork. But a careful study of the central design reveals that it is closely related to the large, sweeping arabesques, found usually in relief, on the gable-shaped section of the lustre mihrābs (see *Fig. 25*).³⁸ The omission of the fine scrollwork, on the other hand, can be explained by the fact that this dense Kāshān design was used especially to produce a broad lustred surface broken up by minute patterns to emphasize the reflections and contrast with the white ground, a technique entirely unnecessary in the case of the ordinary underglaze painting on the plate in question.³⁹

The Hoyt plate is the key to the identification of a large group. The bowl from the Metropolitan Museum with the fish and arabesque rosette in the center, has the same black painting under turquoise, now crackled, glaze, and a common Kāshān shape with the tapering walls and high ring foot (*Fig. 26*). This also applies to another bowl in the Metropolitan (*Fig. 27*), on which the willow reed design provides a link with a large group of early thirteenth century pieces ⁴⁰ which can therefore all be classed as Kāshān.

But the Hoyt plate is not the only clue for the possible Kāshān origin of this black and turquoise ware. We can start another chain of evidence from the lustre bowl dated 600 H./1203 A.D. (see p. 52 and *Fig. 9*) which is definitely Kāshān. The interlacing motif (*Fig. 2, m*) painted on the outside is the link to the group under discussion. Exactly the same design occurs in the center of a bowl which has, in addition, the willow reed design and the frieze of fish (*Fig. 28*).⁴¹ On other bowls of this ware, the same interlaced motif is more intricately constructed, but in all cases, their relation to the design on the bowl of 600 H./1203 A.D. cannot be denied (*Fig. 2, n to r*).

³⁷ Dr. W. Hartner, of Harvard University, was good enough to offer the following information: "That the division of the circle into 29 scalloped edges is very coarse is easily proven by measuring the single indentations with a compass. It is not possible to construct a twenty-nine sectioned figure by the elementary geometrical method, but it is of course technically possible to create with various results every kind of figure merely by experimentation. In some Persian pieces the exactness with which such seven-, eleven-, and thirteen-cornered figures are drawn, is astounding."

³⁸ Compare also Ritter . . . *Steinbücher*, Pls. I, III, IV.

³⁹ Prof. Querfeldt of the Hermitage, Leningrad, pointed out to the author that a design painted on the slip cannot, because of the surface character of the slip, be as fine as when painted in lustre on the hard, glazed ground of the vessel.

⁴⁰ Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-9.

⁴¹ This bowl appeared in the Paris sale held in May, 1934, at the Hôtel Drouot, *Catalogue* No. 23 and Pl. opp. p. 10.

Should this six-fold interlacing design seem too commonplace and simple to warrant its use for Kāshān identification, a special form of it might be cited as further substantiating evidence. On a delightful lustre bowl in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, dated Muḥarram, 609 H./1212 A.D., of typical Kāshān character (*Fig. 29*)—in the shape, the frieze of heart-shaped leaves on the outside, and a slight variation of Kāshān birds on the scrolled background, on the inside—the guide pattern is the small interlaced motif (*Fig. 2, s*) which appears in rondels on the inside rim. It is a derivation of the motif (*Fig. 2, m*) on the outside of the previously mentioned lustre bowl dated 600 H./1203 A.D., but it is so sketchy and abbreviated that it might almost be regarded as a new pattern. And since this exact intricate pattern appears again in the center of the bowl dated Dhu'l-Ḥijjdja, 610 H./1214 A.D., in the Sir Ernest Debenham Collection, London (*Fig. 2, n*),⁴² we may well presume that both pieces were made in Kāshān, and most probably also in the same workshop, only twenty-three months apart. The Kāshān origin of the Debenham bowl is furthermore supported by its shape, identical with that of Figure 9.

The attribution to Kāshān of a few selected pieces of that fine medieval Persian pottery group that is dated by the bowl of 601 H./1204 A.D. in the Gamsaraghan Bey Collection, Alexandria,⁴³ the bowl dated Dhu'l-Ḥijjdja, 607 H./1211 A.D., in the National Museum, Stockholm,⁴⁴ and the bowl dated Dhu'l-Ḥijjdja, 610 H./1214 A.D., in the Debenham Collection, with the interlaced pattern, foliated stems, half arabesque leaves, fleur de lys, willow reed pattern, long-tailed birds, and fish, in either circular or radial arrangement, painted on a white slip under a clear or turquoise glaze, justifies the same attribution for other pieces of the group. For all of those which follow the general character of the group, this attribution becomes a matter of course, but there are other pieces which do not entirely fall into line, hence they warrant special mention. If they were not actually made in Kāshān, a very real possibility, they represent at least a variation of the Kāshān style as it was used in another center.

The main painted decoration on the bowl from the Metropolitan Museum (No. 12.33.1), illustrated in Figure 30, is the willow reed motif, surrounded by radiating strokes, typical Kāshān features, as is the shape, identical with that of Figure 9. Therefore, the very fine pierced decoration around the walls must also be linked to Kāshān, and justifies, where it appears, a Kāshān attribution, especially when other Kāshān features are also present.

The famous jug in the Metropolitan Museum (No. 32.52.1) known as the "Macy" jug (*Fig. 31*) with open work decoration and sphinxes, harpies, dogs, deer, and other animals, and carrying the date 612 H./1215 A.D., seems also to be of Kāshān origin. It has the willow reed pattern on the handle and lower part of the body, and the interior of the neck is decorated with floriated stems carrying half-arabesques alternating with fleur de lys, all of Kāshān character. The spotted animals are found on many Kāshān tiles, as for instance, on the

⁴² Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, Fig. 3 opp. p. 49.

⁴³ Wiet, *op. cit.*, Pl. G and p. 131.

⁴⁴ Wiet, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIIb and Kühnel, *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, Pl. 26, Fig. 9.

mihrāb fragment shown in Figure 5, while the arrangement of these various animals in the openwork arabesque ground recalls the fragmentary lustre plate with 29 scalloped indentations in the possession of Mr. D. K. Kelekian (see p. 62, footnote 35, d). In view of all this, the Kāshān origin of the "Macy" jug seems much more plausible than the hitherto alleged one of Sulṭānābād,⁴⁵ where the piece was said to have been found. Even if this last fact were exact (and there is no way of verifying it), we have so far no clues that the jug was actually made in Sulṭānābād, to where it might have been exported. On the other hand, it seems most unlikely that the "Macy" jug should have been made in any other pottery center than Kāshān. It seems hardly plausible that any craftsman able to achieve such complicated and original work as the decoration on this piece should have copied a few minor designs, such as the willow reed and other patterns, from the Kāshān wares. He would undoubtedly have employed original designs throughout.⁴⁶

A vase painted in black under turquoise glaze, in the Raymond Armsby Collection, San Francisco,⁴⁷ might also be of Kāshān origin, on account of the willow reed pattern appearing in one band, but it bears no other direct Kāshān clues.

A cock-spouted, one-handled, painted jug in the F. Brangwyn Collection, London (*Fig. 32*), also has some relation to the Kāshān style. The faces of the personages contrast with the densely decorated costumes; furthermore, the lower part of the body, as in the case of the "Macy" jug, is covered with the willow reed pattern. A plate of the same type, painted in blue, black, and turquoise on a white slip under a clear glaze, formerly in the collection of Mrs. Chadbourne, London (*Fig. 33*), shows again the contrast of the white faces and the densely decorated costume, and other Kāshān features of minor importance, as the radiating arrow-like strokes and the scrolls on both sides of the halo.⁴⁸

A few other pottery groups can, with the aid of the Kāshān lustre wares, be identified as of Kāshān. When R. M. Riefstahl published a large group of medieval Persian pottery in his catalogue of the Parish-Watson Collection,⁴⁹ he especially stressed a lapis blue glazed jar (now in the Freer Gallery, Washington), with bands of animals, personages, and floral designs encircling the body (*Fig. 34*), and compared it with another jar painted in lustre,

⁴⁵ Dimand, *Loan Exhibition*, p. 22, no. 94. The same attribution was given by A. U. Pope in his review of R. L. Hobson, *Guide*, in *Art Bulletin*, Vol. XIV, Chicago, 1932, p. 375.

⁴⁶ Other pieces of the same group include:

a) a jug in the Museum in Kiev, exhibited in the Persian art exhibition, Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, 1935 (Wiasmitina, *op. cit.*, Pl. II, no. 19).

b) a jug (fragmentary) in the possession of Mr. D. K. Kelekian, New York.

c) a spouted pitcher in the possession of M. Nazare Aga, Paris (*Catalogue*, London Exhibition, No. 101-C).

d) another piece of the same shape in the possession of Mr. H. Kevorkian, New York.

They all show a similar dense design which complies with the general Kāshān style, but they do not carry such definite Kāshān clues as the "Macy" jug.

⁴⁷ *An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House*, London, 1931, Pl. 62, b.

⁴⁸ It is possible that this pottery type was copied in another center, as some pieces show the same design, but certain patterns, for instance, on the outside of the bowls, are more sketchily drawn than in the Kāshān pieces.

⁴⁹ R. M. Riefstahl, *The Parish-Watson Collection of Mohammadan Potteries*, New York, 1922, pp. 211-12, frontispiece and Figs. 71-3, 75-83, 85-87.

from the Basilevsky Collection in the Hermitage Museum (*Fig. 35*). There is, indeed, a distinct connection between these two jars, and if we acknowledge that the Basilevsky jar is, because of its various Kāshān features, a Kāshān product, we may assume that the former jar was also made there, or if one prefers to be more circumspect, was also inspired by a Kāshān design.

On another bowl, formerly in the Engel-Gros Collection, Ripaille (*Fig. 36*), the large cobalt blue and black arabesques, painted on a white slip, are identical with those found on the tiles described on p. 2, especially on the cornices of the mihrāb tiles (*Fig. 1*). Furthermore, there is a distinct relation to the Hoyt plate (see p. 62, *Fig. 24*), all of which tends to confirm a Kāshān origin.

There seems little doubt that the Kāshān style or at least certain Kāshān motifs were imitated in other pottery centers, or were brought there by Kāshān potters. On a vase in the Kelekian Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum (No. 34),⁵⁰ said to have been found in Sulṭānābād yet closely related to a waster found in Sulṭāniyya,⁵¹ the lower frieze consists of confronted fish, a motif occurring also on Kāshān pieces.⁵² Another vase from the same collection (No. 33), also said to have been found in Sulṭānābād,⁵³ shows a chevron pattern set in an interlaced band around the body, interlacings which are, of course, different from the circular pattern in the Kāshān bowls, yet still related to them.⁵⁴ On other pieces of this black and turquoise ware, one motif is derived from or very close to the willow reed pattern, but other motifs have no relation to Kāshān. On the whole, these provincial pieces are more carelessly and sketchily drawn and of less inspiration and artistic finish than the Kāshān pieces of even later periods, and the green glazes differ, as well.

⁵⁰ Kelekian, *op. cit.*, Pl. 34.

⁵¹ D. Talbot Rice, "Some Wasters from Sultanieh," *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. LX, London, 1932, pp. 252-3.

⁵² Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and Figs. 11 and 12 opp. p. 50.

⁵³ Kelekian, *op. cit.*, Pl. 33.

⁵⁴ These two "Sulṭānābād" vases from the Kelekian Collection show the following features which do not

occur on Kāshān wares:

a) a sketchily drawn vine with fruits (?) filled with tiny circles (a feature occurring also on the Sulṭāniyya waster published by D. Talbot Rice).

b) a series of zigzag bands used as a filling pattern.

c) a more decorative form of writing which is closer to *Thulth* than to the *Naskhī* which is usually found on Kāshān wares, especially vessels.



FIG. 26—BOWL WITH BLACK PAINTING UNDER TURQUOISE GLAZE, KĀSHĀN, FIRST HALF OF XIII CENTURY, NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (COURTESY OF METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART)



FIG. 27—BOWL WITH BLACK PAINTING, KĀSHĀN, FIRST HALF OF XIII CENTURY, NEW YORK METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (COURTESY OF METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART)



FIG. 28—BOWL WITH BLACK PAINTING, KĀSHĀN, FIRST HALF OF XIII CENTURY (SALE CATALOGUE, HÔTEL DROUOT, PARIS, MAY 7, 1934, NO. 23)



FIG. 29—BOWL WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, KĀSHĀN, 609 H./1212 A.D., BALTIMORE
WALTERS ART GALLERY (COURTESY OF WALTERS ART GALLERY)



FIG. 30—BOWL WITH PAINTING IN BLACK AND PIERCED DECORATION, KĀSHĀN
FIRST HALF OF XIII CENTURY, NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
OF ART (COURTESY OF METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART)



FIG. 31—JUG WITH PAINTED AND PIERCED DECORATION, KĀSHĀN
612 H./1215 A.D., NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
(COURTESY OF METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART)

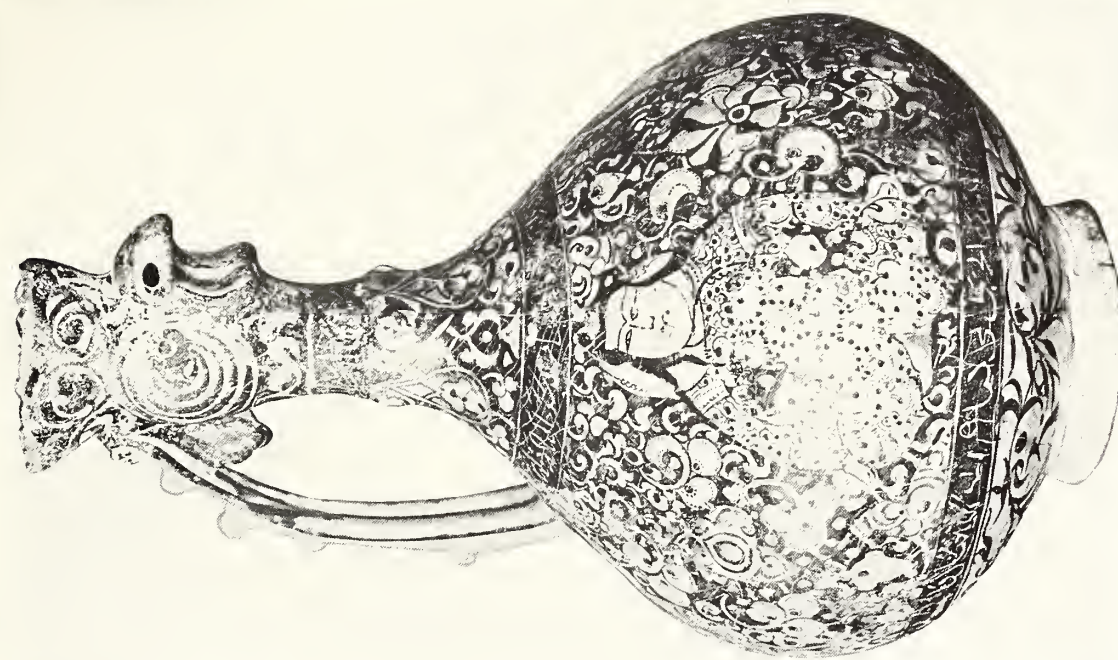


FIG. 32—JUG WITH PAINTED DECORATION, KĀSHĀN
XIII CENTURY, LONDON, FRANK BRANGWYN
COLLECTION



FIG. 34—JAR WITH BLUE GLAZE, KĀSHĀN, SECOND HALF OF XIII CENTURY, WASHINGTON, D. C., FREER GALLERY OF ART (COURTESY OF FREER GALLERY OF ART)



FIG. 33—BOWL WITH PAINTED DECORATION, KĀSHĀN, XIII CENTURY, LONDON, MRS. CHADOURNE COLLECTION (PHOTOGRAPH FROM RIVIÈRE)



FIG. 35—JAR WITH LUSTRE PAINTING, KĀSHĀN, SECOND HALF OF XIII CENTURY, LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE MUSEUM



FIG. 36—BOWL WITH PAINTING IN BLACK AND BLUE, KĀSHĀN, XIII CENTURY FORMERLY RIPAILLE, ENGEL GROS COLLECTION (PHOTOGRAPH FROM RIVIÈRE)



FIG. 1—LANDSCAPE, *Anthology*, SHĪRĀZ DATED 1398
 ISTANBUL, TÜRK VE İSLAM ASARI MÜZESİ

THE LANDSCAPE MINIATURES OF AN ANTHOLOGY MANUSCRIPT OF THE YEAR 1398 A.D.*

BY MEHMET AGA-UGLU

SEVERAL YEARS AGO A. SAKISIAN, IN AN ARTICLE ENTITLED "L'UNITÉ DES ÉCOLES DES miniaturistes en Perse," published for the first time one of the miniatures of a manuscript in the Türk ve Islam Asari Müzesi (formerly Evkaf Museum) at Istanbul, which he discussed in the following manner: "Le musée de l'Evkaf possède un Nizami de 1399 illustré de paysages du plus haut intérêt. Le scribe est de Behbéhan de Kuh Guilouy, localité du Sud-Ouest de la Perse, et il y a tout lieu de croire que le volume est aussi originaire de cette ville, ce qui le rattacherait au manuscrit du British Museum. Ces paysages sont tous du même type, mais leurs couleurs varient. Dans celui que nous reproduisons (pl. XVII, 2), une colline centrale jaune, flanquée au second plan de deux hauteurs, ocre et violet foncé, se détachent sur un fond bleu. Une rivière dont l'argent est très oxydé, serpente au flanc de la colline du milieu, et des canards y prennent leur ébats au premier plan. On y remarque des palmiers. Des lianes en or très contournées sont d'un très grand effet décoratif; enfin, des oiseaux, disposés avec une symétrie naïve, sont perchés sur les arbres. Ces miniatures, toutes de la même main, représentent l'œuvre aussi charmante que rare d'un paysagiste qui ne nous a malheureusement pas transmis son nom."¹ In two other works he repeated these statements, however, without considering the miniatures more closely and above all without attempting to determine their art-historical and cultural significance.²

These miniatures, which we will discuss in detail in the following pages, are to be found, not in a *Nizāmī* manuscript, but in an extensive *Anthology* of Persian poets. The completely preserved manuscript³ measures 31 x 20 cm. and consists of ca. 980 leaves of thin yellowish paper. The text, which fills four columns, is written in beautiful *Naskhī*-script, and is executed by one and the same hand that did the margins of the pages (*Hāshīye*) with their diagonally written lines, as is usually the case with such large extensive Anthology manuscripts. The contents of both the principal and the marginal texts comprise various selected examples of Persian literature, especially from the works of the famous poets: *Shāikh Nizāmī*, *Amīr Khusrau Dehlewī*, *Khwādja 'Imād*,⁴ *Kemāl Ismā'il*,⁵ *Shāikh Sa'dī*, and *'Amīd al-Mulk*.

*Translated from the German by Helen B. Hall to whom the writer is greatly indebted.

¹ *Syria*, 1921, pp. 161 ff.

² "L'Ecole mongole de miniature en Perse aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, II (1925), p. 140; *La Miniature persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1929, p. 33.

³ The manuscript belonged to the Library of the Topkapu Palace, as can be seen from several remarks on the fly-leaf. From there it passed into the Library founded by Sulṭān Maḥmūd I (1730-1754) in the Fatih quarter and came finally in 1917 to the above-mentioned

museum, where it was inventoried as No. 1561 under the erroneous name of *Khamsa Nizāmī*.

⁴ *Khwādja 'Imād al-Dīn Faḳīh* came originally from Kirmān and died in 1371. E. Brown, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 258.

⁵ The only known manuscript with the poems of *Kemāl Ismā'il* was in the British Museum, OR. 2814, according to H. Ethé, "Neupersische Literatur," *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Strassburg, 1896-1904, II, p. 344.

A table of contents with the authors' names is to be found in eight compartments of the artistically illuminated *Shamsa*-medallion on the title-page. The following two first leaves likewise contain luxurious, tastefully-executed illuminations. Golden ornaments which consist of sprays of leaves and flowers growing symmetrically out of cartouches are painted on an enamel-like dark blue ground. The numerous illuminated chapter headings (*Sarloh*) and margin decorations exhibit similar ornaments.

The manuscript has no colophon; but at the end of a chapter on folio 460 is to be found the signature of the calligrapher and the date of execution, according to which it was written in the month Muḥarram 801 A.H. (September 1398 A.D., *sic!*) by Maṣṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn Varaka ibn 'Omar ibn Bakhtiyār from Bihbahān in Kūh-i Gīlūy.

The calligrapher is entirely unknown to me. One does not meet his name in the accessible biographical works on calligraphers and a second work from his hand is likewise unknown. Bihbahān, the native place of the calligrapher, is situated on the mountain Kūh-i Gīlūy in the western part of the present province of Fārs, on the road between Ahwāz and Shīrāz, about 150 miles distant from the latter city. In the fourteenth century it was a small town with no cultural importance whatever;⁶ hence it is indeed conceivable that the manuscript could not have originated here, as A. Sakisian believed, but in the neighboring Shīrāz, which, as is known, was one of the most important centers of Persian book-art from the second half of the fourteenth century.

The number of miniatures adorning the manuscript amounts to twelve. Of these, eleven are in the portion of the text where the romances of Nizāmī are written and only one is to be found isolated at the end of the volume. The miniatures are of various sizes; seven are full-page, *i.e.* occupy the space of the principal text, and the other five which are painted at the ends of chapters in spaces left free by the calligrapher, are of smaller size and are always so formed that the two middle columns of the text cut into the picture. All of the pictures, except the last,⁷ represent fantastic mountain-landscapes, without any animals or human figures, and on only one do several birds enliven the natural scenery.

Before we pass to the stylistic consideration and the interpretation of the content of the miniatures, it is appropriate to describe them first with regard to form and color. Figure 1 reproduces the first miniature (17.3 x 12.8 cm.).⁸ It portrays a landscape with steeply-rising mountains; the middle one is light yellow with rather strong brown contour lines. A similarly outlined mountain at the left is ocher, shaded with gray, while the one at the right is a violet color with silver lines around its edge. The upper part of the picture, above the

⁶ Bihbahān is not mentioned by the Arab geographers. Its name first occurs in connection with the march of Amīr Tīmūr in 1393 from Ahwāz to Shīrāz. G. LeStrange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 269 and 297.

⁷ This picture represents a hunting scene and was without any doubt produced considerably later than the

rest of the miniatures. Hereafter in the discussion of the individual pictures we shall leave this one out of consideration.

⁸ Reproduced in the above-mentioned works by A. Sakisian and by E. Kühnel, "Das Landschaftsbild in den islamischen Buchmalerei," *Die graphische Künste*, L (1927), Heft 1.

mountains, is painted a dark blue and represents the slope of the mountain lying behind rather than the sky, as is clearly indicated by the portrayal of the conventionalized grasses on the portion at the left. A brook rises from a source in the center of the picture and after a sinuous S-shaped course flows into a sea on whose shore are ranged orange-colored stones with golden contour lines. The water, painted in silver, is very strongly oxidized. The colors of the plants are of unusual combination. The elegant, slender cypresses are brownish-green and have golden trunks, whereas the trunks of the other trees are red. Below, on the shore of the sea among other species of trees grows up a Persian fan-palm (*N. Ritchieana*), and in the left corner is seen a mountain-palm. The blossoming apple-tree is deserving of notice, as well as various bushes with flowers and fruit and the serpentine plants, particularly the vines, with golden stems and dark green leaves. On both shoulders of the mountain in the foreground are growing date-palms, with orange-colored fruit, the one at the right being painted entirely in gold. Finally the landscape exhibits many other kinds of trees, which by their strongly contrasting colors raise to a high degree the picturesque charm of the miniature. Among the illustrations of the manuscript, as has already been mentioned above, this one alone presents living creatures—birds. One can distinguish there only three species, to be explicit, three swimming wild geese, and several sparrows and magpies, which perch on the trees in a decorative arrangement.

The second miniature (*Fig. 2*), somewhat smaller in size (10.9 x 12.7 cm.), has approximately the same color-key. Here the hill is gray and lightly shaded. The background on both sides is violet, embellished with stylized grasses. The same species of plants appear in this picture, but with the difference, that on the violet portions they are painted in monochrome, either in gold or in silver.

A still more elaborate composition and a richer color-scale are exhibited in the third miniature of the series (*Fig. 3*). It occupies a full page, measuring 20.0 x 12.5 cm., and represents a group of seven mountains symmetrically arranged beside and behind one another. The colors are ocher, light yellow, dark brown, carmine, and light violet. The sky is treated in gold and is partly covered by stylized white clouds. The white points on both of the mountain-peaks above at the left under the clouds indicate rainfall.⁹ Deserving of notice are the two oxidized streams, which join and flow first into a small lake in the center of the picture and then into a larger sea. The vegetation of the landscape has here become even more luxuriant; particularly striking is the doom-palm with huge vines in the center of the composition and the blossoming tree at the left. Of little interest as regards its form is the fourth small miniature (6.5 x 12.7 cm.) at the end of a chapter (*Fig. 4*). It is nevertheless worthy of mention on account of two orange-trees and the milk-colored brook and sea.

The fifth full-page (21.1 x 12.6 cm.) miniature (*Fig. 5*) displays a particular splendor of color, clarity of composition, and richness of plant-life. The six mountains are differently

⁹ By no means can it be snow, for the fully-developed fauna depicts late spring.

colored: the lowest one is light green, the next two on either side are light yellow with red lines around the edges, the center one with a remarkable round crowning is purple and has golden marks at the edges, and finally the two flanking ones above are painted pink. The sky here is light blue and the water is executed in silver. Besides the trees that have appeared on the pictures already described, there are represented here other species. On the bank of the lower sea is growing a kind of palm, done entirely in red; the tree standing next to it at the left has black star-shaped leaves painted on a dark green background. The two large almond-shaped trees with light violet-colored trunks are painted in a similar manner; they have dark brown contour lines and bear golden and yellow separate leaves respectively. Of unusually delicate form are also the vines and the serpentine plants.

The sixth, full-page (20.0 x 13.0 cm.) miniature (*Fig. 6*) displays also the same compositional treatment and color-scheme. All of its four mountains have round crownings; the lower one is ocher, both of the lateral ones are purple, and the middle one is light green. The sky is completely covered with dense white clouds and the white points on the upper mountains indicate rain here also.

On Figure 7 we reproduce the eighth miniature (20.2 x 12.6 cm.) of the series in the manuscript.¹⁰ It displays an ocher-colored hill in the foreground and a light yellow massif with three peaks in the background. The sky is light blue and this time the water of the stream and the sea is painted a violet-tinged white instead of silver. To the plants is added a decorative tree which grows up from the peak of the hill in the foreground. A similar three-peaked mountain range appears also on the tenth picture (*Fig. 8*),¹¹ which measures 20.2 x 12.6 cm. Two sources and a large sea are joined by streams, with the water painted partly in silver and partly in light violet. The fauna is enriched here by the introduction of a pomegranate tree. Especially striking is the light violet color of the sky. Finally, Figure 9 reproduces the last illustration (20.2 x 12.9 cm.). In composition and in color (the sky is light violet) it resembles the miniature on Figure 7. The mountains have quite strong dark red contour lines. Furthermore the way in which the tree in the foreground grows up out of the water of the sea is noteworthy.

In their treatment of form and color, in spite of the characteristically decorative conception, the miniatures differ in a remarkable manner from the rest of the known representations of landscapes in Persian painting, and display an unusually artistic thought for the fourteenth century, which we must indeed look for in the content of the illustrations.

It is true that the landscape as an independently-treated motif almost never appears in the range of Persian miniature painting, judging from the material that has become known up to the present time.¹² The two unique examples of the rendering of nature, which are in

¹⁰ The seventh miniature, not reproduced here, is of slight pictorial importance. Like *Fig. 4* it is situated at the end of a chapter and is small in size (8.0 x 12.0 cm.).

¹¹ The ninth miniature, measuring 7.4 x 12.9 cm., portrays two hills and few trees.

¹² Cf. E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, L (1927), Heft 1, pp. 1-9.



FIG. 2—LANDSCAPE, *Anthology*, SHĪRĀZ DATED 1398
ISTANBUL, TÜRK VE İSLAM ASARI MÜZESİ



FIG. 3—LANDSCAPE, *Anthology*, *SHĪRĀZ* DATED 1398
ISTANBUL, TÜRK VE İSLAM ASARI MÜZESİ

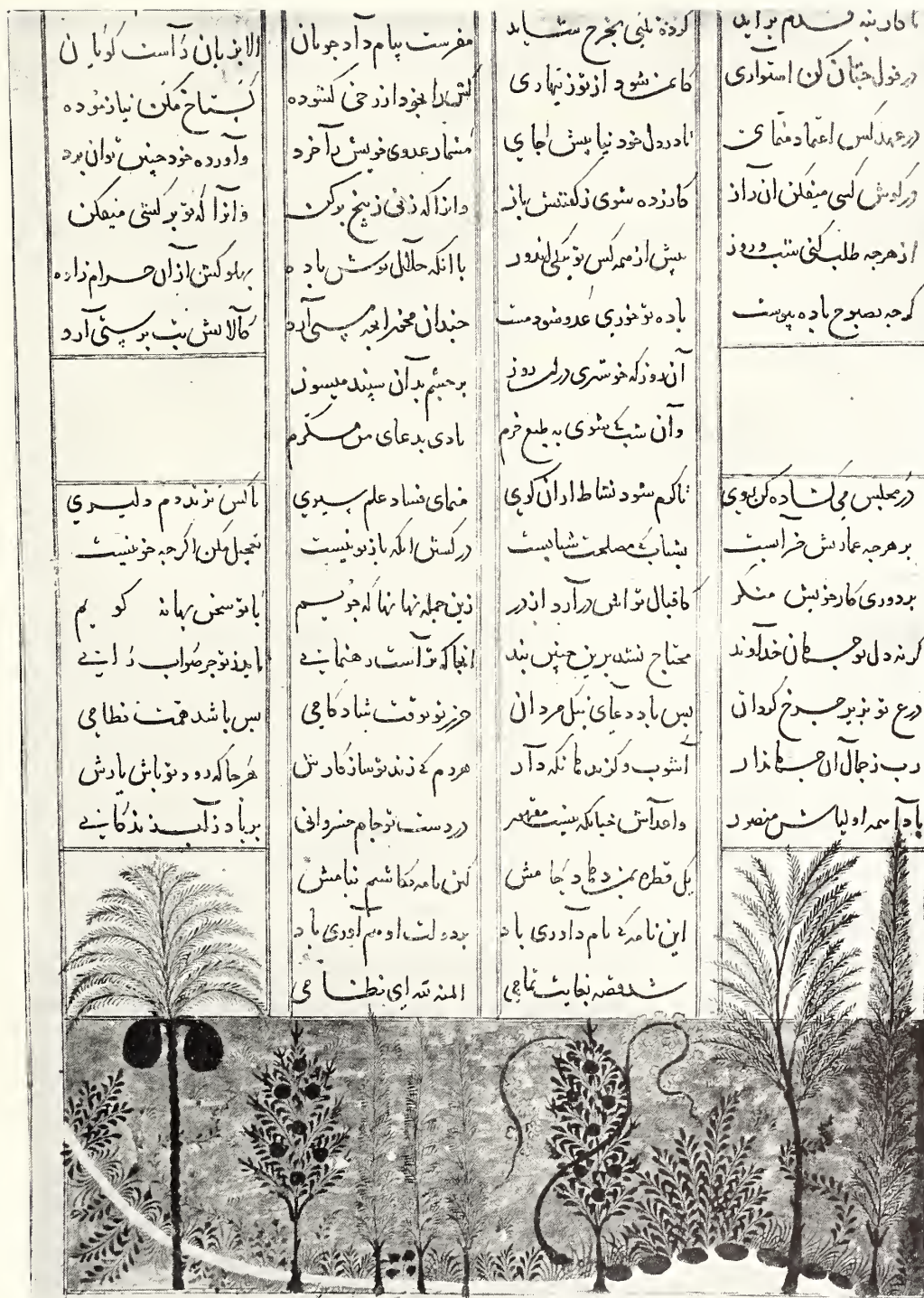


FIG. 4—LANDSCAPE, *Anthology*, SHIRĀZ DATED 1398
ISTANBUL, TÜRK VE İSLAM ASARI MÜZESİ



FIG. 5—LANDSCAPE, *Anthology*, *SHĪRĀZ* DATED 1398
ISTANBUL, TÜRK VE İSLAM ASARI MÜZESİ

the famous *Djāmi' al-Tawārikh* manuscript of the year 1314 A.D., are exceptions resulting from foreign stimulation. One of these portrays the "mountains of India" and the other the "holy tree of Buddha";¹³ they are non-Persian as to subject-matter, and appertain to the Buddhistic view of the world. From the stylistic point of view also these originated under strong east-Asiatic influence and were produced in all probability by the hand of a Uighurian painter. Consequently, in spite of their having originated on Persian soil (Tabrīz), they have no place externally in our consideration.¹⁴ But that does not mean that the representation of nature was a manifestation foreign to Persian book-artists. Landscape, along with architecture, in its most varied forms was a favorite setting for the representation of epic, romantic and other scenes. Already from the beginning of its development we can observe an increasing delight in the treatment of the landscape motif. In the late thirteenth century it is still very lightly accented and remains under the strong influence of the so-called "Baghdād school." A narrow strip of land with grass, shrubs or conventionalized trees with a few carefully drawn flowers and leaves, a brook or sea, and a pair of flying birds are the constantly recurring elements. All is still highly decorative and is made use of to enhance the principal motif of the picture. Under influence coming from eastern Asia a revolutionary change in shape and form¹⁵ is soon to be seen. A certain "realism" breaks in and after a short time this course finds its pronounced Persian formulation. Characteristic examples of this "Persian realism" are seen in the miniatures of a *Kalīla wa Dimna* in the Istanbul Album,¹⁶ which unfortunately are attributed to the twelfth century by their discoverer, and which betray undeniable relationship with the landscape paintings of China and originated without doubt in the fourteenth century and probably in western Persia.

This "realistic" conception was in its turn to yield its place to the decorative course, which, alone prevailing since the fifteenth century, produced its characteristic works on the one hand in west Persia with centers at Tabrīz and Baghdād and on the other hand in the newly growing-up capital city of Herāt. The endeavor to stylize nature as a whole and its elements in particular, moreover in a romantic-sentimental manner, appears for example, already in its consummate form, in the miniatures of a manuscript of *Khwādjū Kirmānī* executed in Baghdād in the year 1396 A.D. One observes how freely conceived and finely

¹³ Reproduced in F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, London, 1912, II, Pls. 31 and 32.

¹⁴ A miniature from a manuscript allegedly dated 1417 A.D., reproduced in G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Paris, 1913, Pl. 56, with the representation of a minaret with a mu'adhdhīn in a landscape setting, is by no means to be considered as a pure landscape.

¹⁵ One can compare the illustrations of the famous *Manāfi' al-Hayawān* of the year 1291 A.D. (sic!), reproduced in Martin, *op. cit.*, II, Pls. 21-26, where the two

tendencies, the decorative-Mesopotamian and the realistic-Asiatic, still appear there side by side without any inner fusion.

¹⁶ A. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1929, pp. 4 ff., Pls. III-X; also, a short time ago, "L'Ecole de miniature pré-mongole de la Perse orientale," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, VII (1931), No. 11, pp. 156 ff. Cf. also O. Gangoly, "An Illustrated Ms. of Anvari-i Suhaili: A New Version," *Rupam*, 1930, Nos. 42, 43, and 44; Fehmi Edhem and Ivan Stchoukine, *Les Manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Stamboul*, Paris, 1933, pp. 40-43.

thought out is the landscape in the picture with the two knights. The improbably-shaped trees in arbitrary assemblage, the rocky blocks piled up on one another and fantastically colored, the conventionalized flowering-shrubs and grasses in symmetrical formation, the stones arranged in pairs along the bank of the stream, and above all the whole compositional structure are the outward signs which were characteristic for the painting of the entire succeeding century.¹⁷

This decorative conception as the leading one continued to give direction to the Herāt painting of the first half of the fifteenth century. The work of this east-Persian school showed from the very beginning a stylistic relationship with miniatures of Baghdād and Tabriz origin respectively, and this is not to be wondered at when we find, for example, in a recently published manuscript of the *Shāh Nāme* of the year 1430 A.D.,¹⁸ landscape elements which are closely related in subject to those of the *Khwādju Kirmānī*. We also meet with these same tendencies towards the decorative abstract treatment of nature in another center of Persian book-production. As has already been observed above, the south-Persian city of Shīrāz was the seat of one of the most important schools of miniature painting. Already a half-century before the founding of the Herāt Academy by Bāysonghor Mīrzā, there were illustrated here manuscripts of Persian literature whose miniatures already exhibit a definite local style which was of formative influence upon the Herāt school. The oldest illustrated manuscript of this school that is known is the *Shāh Nāme* in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul [Library Inv. No. 1429]. According to the notation of the colophon it was copied in Shīrāz in the month Shawwāl 772 A.H. (April/May 1371 A.D.) by the calligrapher Mas'ūd ibn Mansūr ibn Aḥmed, and it contains twelve illustrations, some of which have been discussed in this journal.¹⁹ The landscapes in the miniatures of this manuscript are treated in an extremely simple decorative manner, and even on one, depicting Bīzhān's release from the pit by Rustam, the mountainous setting is of extremely abstract, almost geometrical form.

As has already been brought out in the description of the miniatures of the *Anthology*, one distinguishes two compositional and coloristic groups differing from one another. The miniatures of the first group (Figs. 1, 3, 5, 6), show with only slight variations one and the same composition: the mountains are arranged symmetrically beside and behind one another, and their warm colors are very strongly contrasted. The pictures of the second group (Figs. 7-9) show on the other hand an altogether simple arrangement: usually a three-peaked mountain range either with or without a hill in the foreground. Also the color-scale of this latter group is considerably more reserved. But in spite of this diversity of composition and color there is an underlying symmetrical schematism common to both groups. This formal conception manifests itself likewise in the disposition of the numerous plants. The trees are shaped symmetrically, with their individuality carefully depicted, and they are so composed that

¹⁷ Reproduced in Martin, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 50.

¹⁸ V. Minorsky, "Two Unknown Persian Manuscripts," *Apollo*, XIII (Feb. 1931), No. 74, pp. 71-75;

L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Oxford, 1933, Pls. XLIV-L.

¹⁹ *Ars Islamica*, I (1934), pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 4-7.

with few exceptions they do not project over the contours of the mountains but rather are framed by them. By these compositional means a certain peaceful mood is achieved. Only the curved lines of the brooks, the nervous serpentine plants growing here and there, and the tongues of clouds hanging down from the sky bring a certain mobility into the composition. It is further worthy of notice that, in spite of the simple putting-together of the elements of nature, the atmospheric space is emphasized, however, in a very naïve fashion. To this testify such striking factors as the cypresses half-covered by the shoulders of the mountains (*Figs. 3 and 5*), by means of which the valleys lying between the mountains are indicated, or the rainfall on the "distant" mountain-tops (*Figs. 3 and 6*).

It is evident that the landscapes in question are not paralleled either in their peculiar compositional treatment, or in their fantastic coloristic effect, as a whole, by any known example of Persian miniature painting of the fourteenth century. Belonging, in general, to the style of the period, they exhibit a certain artistic thought quite unique in its kind, and which must have originated as the manifestation of a certain conception, indeed, not connected with the subject-matter of Persian-Islamic literature, although they serve as illustrations to Nizāmī's famous romances. This underlying conception of the content of these miniatures must be sought, in the opinion of the writer, in the *Weltanschauung* of the pre-Islamic Persians.

Already some time ago J. Strzygowski, in his book *Origin of Christian Church Art*,²⁰ emphasized the importance of Mazdaism in the evolution of the arts in the Near East, and without a single example of pure Mazdean nature representation coming to mind, he attempted to characterize the "Hvarenah landscape" with the following words:

"At the very heart of Aryan piety on Iranian soil lay the idea of Hvarenah. . . . Hvarenah is the power that makes running waters gush from springs, plants sprout from the soil, winds blow the clouds, and men come to birth. . . .

"Were such ideas expressed in art, we should expect to see a barren landscape, above it the sun with his swift steeds, below it the world-ocean; the land between would have its gushing springs, and its scattered plants springing from the earth; over all would float clouds. . . .

"Are there such landscapes? If so, they would not be representations in the strict sense, but compositions pieced together out of the elements enumerated above, mere symbols of nature, devoid of realism. Other artistic treatment could hardly be looked for in Iran."²¹

In order to make still more clear this strikingly concise presentation of the ancient Persian Hvarenah, let it be permitted to survey here the closely allied and universally known

²⁰ Oxford, 1923, pp. 118 and 119.

²¹ Again later in *Die Landschaft in der nordischen Kunst: Bibliothek der Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by Hans Tietze, Vol. 17, Leipzig, 1922; *Asiens bildende Kunst*, Augsburg, 1930, pp. 462 and 512 ff.; cf. also E. Diez,

"Die Elemente der persischen Landschaftsmalerei und ihre Gestaltung," *Kunde, Wesen und Entwicklung*, Wien, 1922; E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, p. 3; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, p. 8.

Mazdean doctrine of the creation of the world in its principal features,²² a matter of fundamental importance for our question of content.

The cosmogonical speculation of the Mazdaists, as it is set forth in the holy book of the creation, the *Bundahis*,²³ is very closely connected with the fundamental problems of religion.²⁴ At the head of all things stand both of the innate spirits, the good god Ahura Mazda and the evil god Ahriman. The universe is the product of the beneficent will of Ahura Mazda, who is assisted in his work of creation by six principal deities, Amesha Spentas, and by other angels, Yazatas. The Amesha Spentas are the representatives of the god in the world and the elements of nature are intrusted to their protection. To Vohu Manah is assigned the care of the useful animals; to the goddess Asha Vahishta, fire; to Khshatra Vairya, metals; Spenta Armaiti is the goddess of the earth, Haurvatat has the waters, and Ameretat looks after the plants.²⁵ The activity of these deities in creating and preserving is continuously disturbed by the demons at the commands of Ahriman, but without any success whatever. The scene of the struggle between these divine and infernal spirits is the empty space between the eternal light where Ahura Mazda has his abode and the eternal darkness where Ahriman dwells. In this intervening space was created the material world, during the world epoch appointed by Ahura Mazda. The creations which up to that time had existed only in a spiritual state were converted into material form and in this manner first the sky, then one after the other the water, the earth, the plants, the animal kingdom and finally man came into existence.

After the completion of the heaven with the sun, moon, and stars, Ahura Mazda began to create the water with the aid of his representative Tistar.²⁶ This process and the subsequent creation of the earth with rivers, seas, mountains, and plants, is narrated literally in the following manner in the *Bundahis*:²⁷

"1. The second conflict was waged with the water, because, as the star Tistar *was* in Cancer, the water which is in the subdivision they call Avrak was pouring, on the same day when the destroyer rushed in, *and* came again into notice for mischief (*âvârak*) in the direction of the west. 2. For every single month is the owner of one constellation; the month Tîr is the fourth month of the year, *and* Cancer the fourth constellation from Aries, so it is the owner of Cancer, into which Tistar sprang, *and* displayed the characteristics of a producer of rain; and he brought on the water aloft by the strength of the wind. . . .

²² A very useful summary has been given by A. J. Carnoy, *The Mythology of All Races*, ed. by L. H. Gray, Boston, 1917, VI, pp. 251-351.

²³ E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts, Part I. The Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and Shâyast Lâ-Shâyast (The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. by F. Max Müller, V), Oxford, 1880.

²⁴ The subject is treated in a monograph by J. Darmesteter, *Les Cosmogonies aryennes*, in *Essais orientaux*,

Paris, 1863, pp. 171-207.

²⁵ The *Bundahis* names also a flower dedicated to each one of these deities: E. W. West, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 and 104.

²⁶ The leader of the stars and the producer of water.

²⁷ In order to remain faithful to the text of the holy book, we employ the English translation by E. W. West, *op. cit.*

"4. . . . thirty days *and* nights he was distinguished in brilliance, and in each form he produced rain ten days *and* nights. . . . 5. Every single drop of that rain became as big as a bowl, and the water stood the height of a man over the whole of this earth. . . .

"6. And, afterwards, the wind spirit, so that it may not be contaminated (*gûmikht*), stirs up the wind *and* atmosphere as the life stirs in the body; and the water was all swept away by it, and was brought out to the borders of earth, and the wide-formed ocean arose therefrom."²⁸

After a bitter but victorious combat with the evil spirits, who tried to destroy his work, Tîstar produced rain for the second time:

"11. Afterwards, with a cloud for a jar (*khûmb*)—thus they call the measure which was a means of the work—he seized upon the water *and* made it rain most prodigiously, in drops *like* bull's heads and men's heads, pouring in handfuls *and* pouring in armfuls, both great and small. . . . 13. And ten nights and days rain was produced by him in that manner, and the poison and venom of the noxious creatures which were in the earth were all mixed up in the water, and the water became quite salt, because there remained in the earth *some* of those germs which noxious creatures ever collect.

"14. Afterwards, the wind, in the same manner *as before*, restrained the water, at the end of three days, on various sides of the earth; and the three great seas *and* twenty-three small seas arose therefrom, *and* two fountains (*kashmak*) of the sea thereby became manifest, one the Kêkast lake, and one the Sôvbar, whose sources are connected with the fountain of the sea. 15. And at its north side two rivers flowed out, *and* went one to the east and one to the west; they are the Arag river and the Vêh river. . . . 16. Both those rivers wind about through all the extremities of the earth, and intermingle again with the water of the wide-formed ocean."²⁹

And this:

"1. . . . the wide-formed ocean keeps one-third of this earth on the south side of the border of Albûrz, *and* so wide-formed is the ocean that the water of a thousand lakes is held by it, such as the source Arêdvîvsûr, which some say is the fountain lake. . . .

"3. Through the warmth and clearness of the water, purifying more than other waters, everything continually flows from the source Arêdvîvsûr. 4. At the south of Mount Albûrz a hundred thousand golden channels are there formed, *and* that water goes with warmth and clearness, through the channels, on to Hûgar the lofty; on the summit of that mountain is a lake; into that lake it flows, becomes quite purified, and comes back through a different golden channel. 5. At the height of a thousand men an open golden branch from that channel is connected with Mount Âûsindôm amid the wide-formed ocean; from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, *and* one portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of this earth, and all the

²⁸ *Bundahis*, Chap. VII, pp. 25–27.

²⁹ *Bundahis*, Chap. VII, pp. 28 and 29.

creations of Aûharmazd acquire health from it, and it dispels the dryness of the atmosphere.”³⁰

And:

“ . . . 2. On the day when Tîstar produced the rain, when its seas arose therefrom, the whole place, half taken up by water, was converted into seven portions; this portion [Khvanîras], as much as one-half, is the middle, *and* six portions are around; those six portions are *together* as much as Khvanîras. . . . 4. And Khvanîras has the sea, for one part of the wide-formed ocean wound about it; *and from* Vôrûbarst *and* Vôrûgarst³¹ a lofty mountain grew up; so that it is not possible for any one to go from region to region.

“5. And of these seven regions every benefit was created most in Khvanîras, and the evil spirit also produced most for Khvanîras, on account of the superiority (sarîh) which he saw in it. 6. For the Kayânians and heroes were created in Khvanîras; and the good religion of the Mazdayasnians was created in Khvanîras; and afterwards conveyed to the other regions; Sôshyans is born in Khvanîras, who makes the evil spirit impotent, and causes the resurrection *and* future existence.”³²

Again as a result of the combat this is followed by the creation of the mountains:

“1. As the evil spirit rushed in, the earth shook, *and* the substance of mountains was created in the earth. 2. First, Mount Albûrz arose; afterwards, the other ranges of mountains (kôfânîhâ) of the middle of the earth; for as Albûrz grew forth all the mountains remained in motion, for they have all grown forth from the root of Albûrz. 3. At that time they came up from the earth, like a tree which *has* grown up to the clouds *and its* root to the bottom; and their root passed on that way *from* one to the other, *and* they are arranged in mutual connection. . . . 5. In numbers, apart from Albûrz, all the mountains grew up out of the earth in eighteen years, from which *arises* the perfection of men’s advantage.”³³

“3. . . . Albûrz is around this earth and is connected with the sky. 4. The Têrak³⁴ of Albûrz is that through which the stars, moon, *and* sun pass in, and through it they come back. 5. Hûgar the lofty³⁵ is that from which the water of Arêdvîvsûr leaps down the height of a thousand men. 6. The Aûsîndôm mountain is that which, being of ruby (khûn-âhino), of the substance of the sky, is *in* the midst of the wide-formed ocean, so that its water, which is from Hûgar, pours down into it (the ocean). 7. Kakâd-i-Dâîtîk (“the judicial peak”) is that of the middle of the world, the height of a hundred men, on which the Kînvar bridge³⁶ stands; and they take account of the soul at that

³⁰ *Bundahis*, Chap. XIII, pp. 41-43.

³¹ The names of two regions on the north side of Khvanîras. The other regions are Savah, Arzah, Fradadafsh, and Vidadafsh.

³² *Bundahis*, Chap. XI, pp. 32 and 33.

³³ *Bundahis*, Chap. VIII, pp. 29 and 30; cf. also J. Darmesteter, *The Zend Avesta, Part II. (The Sacred*

Books of the East, ed. by P. Max Müller, XXIII), Oxford, 1883, p. 287, where Albûrz is called Haraiti Barez.

³⁴ A central peak of Albûrz.

³⁵ Another peak of Albûrz.

³⁶ The bridge over which the souls pass into Paradise lies between this mountain and Albûrz.



FIG. 6—LANDSCAPE, *Anthology*, SHĪRĀZ DATED 1398
ISTANBUL, TÜRK VE İSLAM ASARI MÜZESİ



FIG. 7—LANDSCAPE, *Anthology*, SHĪRĀZ DATED 1398
ISTANBUL, TÜRK VE İSLAM ASARI MÜZESİ



FIG. 8—LANDSCAPE, *Anthology*, SHĪRĀZ DATED 1398
ISTANBUL, TÜRK VE İSLAM ASARI MÜZESİ



FIG. 9—LANDSCAPE, *Anthology*, *SHĪRĀZ* DATED 1398
ISTANBUL, TÜRK VE İSLAM ASARI MÜZESİ

place. 8. The Arezûr ridge [of the Albûrz mountain] is a summit at the gate of hell, where they always hold the concourse of the demons. 9. . . . excepting Albûrz, the Apârsên mountain is the greatest; the Apârsên mountain they call the mountain of Pârs, and its beginning is in Sagastân and its end in Khûgîstân. 10. Mount Mânûs is great; the mountain on which Mânûskîhar was born.

"11. The remaining mountains have chiefly grown from those; as it is said that the elevation (afsârîh) of the districts had arisen most around those three mountains."³⁷

In the Ormazd Yast of *Avesta*, II, (p. 33), is the following passage of interest:

"We worship the mountain that gives understanding, that preserves understanding; [we worship it] by day and by night, with offerings of libations well-accepted."

The high mountains play a large rôle in Iranian mythology. The seat of spiritual glory is on the mountain Ushi Darena, on which Ahura Mazda also made manifest his religion (*Avesta*, XXII). The first man and the King Gayomarth ruled on a mountain; and when the tribe of the Kayanians ceased to exist, the Iranians went to Mount Alburz, where Kai-Kobad was crowned.

After the creation of the land with its holy mountains the plants were created:

" . . . 2. Amerôdad³⁸ the archangel, as the vegetation was his own, pounded the plants small, *and* mixed *them* up with the water which Tîstar seized, and Tîstar made that water rain down upon the whole earth. 3. On the whole earth plants grew up like hair upon the heads of men. . . .

"5. From that same germ of plants the tree of all germs³⁹ was given forth, *and* grew up in the wide-formed ocean, from which the germs of all species of plants ever increased. 6. And near to that tree of all germs the Gôkard⁴⁰ tree was produced, for keeping away deformed (dûspad) decrepitude; *and* the full perfection of the world arose therefrom."⁴¹

"2. In like manner even as the animals, with grain of fifty and five species *and* twelve species of medical plants, have arisen from the primeval ox,⁴² ten thousand species among the species of principal plants, *and* a hundred thousand species among *ordinary* plants have grown from all these seeds of the tree opposed to harm [Gôkard], the many-seeded, *which* has grown in the wide-formed ocean. 3. When the seeds of all these plants, with those from the primeval ox, have arisen upon it, every year the bird [Kam-rôs] strips that tree *and* mingles all the seeds in the water; Tîstar seizes them with the rain-water *and* rains *them* on to *all* regions. 4. Near to that tree the white Hôm, the healing and undefiled, has grown at the source of the water of Arêdvîvsûr; every one who eats *it* becomes immortal, and they call it the Gôkard tree, as it is said that Hôm

³⁷ *Bundahis*, Chap. XII, pp. 35-37.

³⁸ Or, Ameretât.

³⁹ Or, "of all seeds."

⁴⁰ This is the chief of the medical plants, "the white

Hôm" tree.

⁴¹ *Bundahis*, Chap. IX, pp. 30 and 31.

⁴² From whom all the animals are supposed to have proceeded.

is expelling death; also in the renovation of *the universe* they prepare its immortality therefrom; *and* it is the chief of plants."

In the same chapter are mentioned also the principal species of plants, the most prominent among which are: the cypress, the date-palm, the grape, the pomegranate, the peach, the apple, the myrtle, the citron, and others.⁴³

We leave aside the process of the creation of the animal kingdom and of mankind and wish to present here still another passage from the *Bundahis* which is of importance for our question of content. This concerns the two holy birds, the sparrow and the magpie, which are characterized as follows:

"19. Regarding the bird Ashôzust, which is the bird Zobara-Vahman [a sparrow] *and* also the bird Sôk [a magpie], they say that it has given an Avesta with *its* tongue; when it speaks the demons tremble at it *and* take nothing away there. . . ." ⁴⁴

And now the earth which was created in this manner was imbued by Ahura Mazda with splendor and glory—Hvarenah.⁴⁵ The XXVIII Zamyad of the *Avesta* praises this divine glory in the following manner:

"To the bounteous Earth; to these places, to these fields; to Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness; to all the mountains made by Mazda, that are seats of holy happiness, of full happiness; to the kingly Glory made by Mazda; to that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda." ⁴⁶

This Hvarenah, also very often designated "Aryan Glory," accompanied by the goddess of piety,

"6. . . . bring increase on the tops of all mountains, down the depths of all vales; they bring increase to all the growing plants, the fair, the golden-hued." ⁴⁷

If we now sum up all that has been said and attempt to paint the resulting picture with material means given at the end of the fourteenth century, then we will have before us the representations of the glorious land of the Mazdaists, Khvaniras, which adorn our *Anthology* manuscript. The principal elements of material form must be the mountains Alburz, Terak, Hugar, Ausindom, Kakad-i-Daitik and other peaks on which the source Aredvîsur and other divine seas are located, whose waters flow through "golden" channels into the wide-formed ocean at the foot of Alburz. In the middle of this ocean grows the original tree whose seeds, mixed with the rain-water, fall down on the earth, on which the plants grow like "hair upon the head." These plants are in the main the cypress, which was the holy tree of Zarathustra,⁴⁸ the date-palm, which was the pattern for other trees and was the holy tree of the land of

⁴³ *Bundahis*, Chap. XXVII, pp. 99 and 100.

⁴⁴ *Bundahis*, Chap. XIX, p. 71.

⁴⁵ Cf. also E. Wilhelm, "Khvareno," *Sir Jamshidju Jejeebhoy Madressa Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1914.

⁴⁶ *Avesta*, II, Sîrôzah I, pp. 11 and 12, and Zamyâd Yast XIX, pp. 286 and 309.

⁴⁷ *Avesta*, II, Astâd Yast, p. 284.

⁴⁸ F. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Bruxelles, 1896-99, I, pp. 195 and 196, II, p. 220, No. 54, Fig. 51; cf. also G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

Khvaniras,⁴⁹ and in addition the grape vine, the pomegranate and other species of plants mentioned in the *Bundahis*. These plants, as is known, play a large part in the art of the entire Near East, of which we have innumerable examples, and they appear over and over again in Persian miniatures. Still more. On the trees sit sparrows and magpies, and these latter, through a recital of the *Avesta*, keep the evil spirits away from nature. And finally the landscapes, composed of the enumerated ingredients, must be rendered particularly awe-inspiring and magnificent by means of fantastic colors, to indicate the glorification of Khvaniras by Hvarenah.

However the question arises as to how a Muḥammadan-Persian artist of the end of the fourteenth century, *i.e.* at the time when the Mazdean religious view of the world had long since fallen into oblivion, could have known down to the smallest detail the matter contained in the *Bundahis* concerning the creation of the world. It is a universally known fact that Islam did not entirely subdue the ancient Persian religion. Indeed it had ceased to exist as a state religion since the conquest of the Sasanian kingdom by the Arabs, but it still remains in the country in practice to this day. As the famous author of the tenth century, Iṣṭakhrī, states, "fire-temples were lacking," in his time, "with few exceptions, in no district and in no city of Persia."⁵⁰ In another passage in his book he gives still further information that "there were in Persia, among those professing different faiths, Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians. Of these religions Zoroastrianism had the largest number of followers. Through them were handed down from one generation to another the religious writings, the temples, the cult and the rites from the time of their own kings; they held fast to them and professed their beliefs. In no country were there more Zoroastrians than in Persia; indeed here was the stronghold of their worldly empire, their culture and their literature."⁵¹ And the center of gravity of this pre-Islamic culture in Persia lay particularly in the province of Fārs. The name alone indicates that it was the cradle of the Persian nation. Here as is known the Achamaenians established their world dominion in the sixth century B.C. and from here likewise the dynasty of the Sasanians came to re-establish the national and religious splendor of Persia. Thence it is self-evident that in the Islamic era also the province of Fārs retained its importance for the national culture.⁵² Leaving out of the question its alleged post-Islamic foundation, the city of Shīrāz was one of the important centers of the Mazdean religion. Here were three fire-temples, two within and one outside of the city.⁵³ We are moreover accurately informed that in the ninth century Shīrāz was the seat of the council and of the Mazdean high-priest who was charged with the administration of the religious affairs of southern Persia.⁵⁴ That the Zoroastrians were still an important element of the people there

⁴⁹ *Bundahis*, Chap. XXIV, pp. 90-91, also F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, I, p. 195.

⁵⁰ *Masālik al-Mamalik, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, I, Leiden, 1870, p. 100.

⁵¹ Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁵² V. V. Barthold, *Istoriko-geografitscheskiy obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. 101.

⁵³ Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 119, and Ibn Hauḳal, *Kitāb al Masalik wa l'Mamalik, Bibl. Geog. Ar.*, II, pp. 189 and 190.

⁵⁴ E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts, Part II. The Dādistān-i Dīnik . . . (The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. by F. Max Müller, XVIII, Oxford, 1882, Introduction, p. XXVIII).

and still enjoyed a particular freedom in the tenth century follows from the words of Muḳḳadasī (in 985 A.D.), who says explicitly that "one does not find on them a distinctive mark, and that the business quarters of the city were decorated on their holidays."⁵⁵

Also the majority of the Zoroastrian religious works which have come down to us were known to the Zoroastrians (Gebrs) of Persia, even through the late Middle Ages.^{55a} We will content ourselves with mentioning only a few data. The famous book on religious views, *Dâdistân-i-Dînîk*, was written in Shīrāz in the year 881 A.D. by the high-priest Mânûshkihar.⁵⁶ The two preserved manuscripts of this work were copied in the city of Kirmān, one in ca. 1530 A.D. and the other in 1572 A.D., thus in the Şafawid period.⁵⁷ Likewise the Persian version of the well-known *Bahman Yast*, copied in Yazd, derives from the end of the fifteenth century.⁵⁸ We will not support the question here with further historical facts; those that have been presented are alone sufficient to confirm the fact that Mazdaism, in spite of continuous persecutions on the part of the Muḥammadans and the emigration of those who professed the faith to India, remained in existence in its native land through the entire Middle Ages, if not among the great masses, at least in the small communities. As today one finds communities of Zoroastrians in Kirmān, Yazd, Işfahān, Shīrāz, and elsewhere,⁵⁹ so were they surely in existence in these cities in the fourteenth century. It will therefore not appear impossible if we assign the miniatures of our *Anthology* manuscript to a Zoroastrian (Gebr) artist, since such a painter could have been familiar with the mythology of the creation in the *Bundahis*. If the artist had been a Muḥammadan, he would surely have painted motifs from the subject-matter of the romances which are contained in the manuscript and by no means would he have represented pure landscapes, which were of such strange effect and content for the artistic conception of those days, without romantic or epic episodes.

Still it can be asked what these symbolical Mazdean pictures have to do with Muḥammadan-Persian literary works. This can be explained in different ways. The manuscript could have been produced for a wealthy Zoroastrian (Gebr) of Shīrāz or neighboring Yazd or Kirmān, who commissioned it to be illustrated by an artist who was a fellow-believer, the painter making use of the opportunity to glorify the holy land of his forefathers. This could have appeared very desirable to the one who ordered it and would thereby not have injured the religious feelings of a community of a different faith. Moreover the question of the execution of the illustrations can also be given other explanations, but our establishment of the Mazdean contents of the landscapes would not be affected. From this point of view these miniatures, which until today stand unparalleled, occupy a special place in Persian book-painting as a whole and accordingly lay claim to a specific cultural and art-historical valuation.

⁵⁵ Muḳḳadasī, *Bibl. Geog. Ar.*, III, pp. 423 and 429.

^{55a} E. W. West, "Pahlavi literature" in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II, p. 80.

⁵⁶ E. W. West, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. XXII and Text, p. 8, n. 6.

⁵⁷ E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts, Part I*, Introduction,

pp. XXXIII and XLIX.

⁵⁸ E. W. West, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. LVII.

⁵⁹ A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York, 1906, pp. 273-275, 336-338, 354 and 425 ff.; "Die iranische Religion," *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II, p. 698.

NOTES

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AND EXHIBITION OF IRANIAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY, LENINGRAD, 1935

The Third International Congress of Iranian art and archaeology took place in Russia in September, 1935, first at Leningrad and then at Moscow. Like its predecessor in London in 1931, the Congress was held in connection with an exhibition, a practice which we are coming to regard as more and more essential, since it increases a thousandfold the value of such meetings. The two are, in fact, very necessary concomitants one of another, and in the sphere of artistic and archaeological studies a congress alone seems incomplete, while an exhibition alone loses a great deal of its instructive and educational possibilities. Persian studies have led the field in this respect, and their example is now being followed in numerous other spheres.

To attempt to summarise the numerous papers that were read before the Congress would be an impossible task in a short space, and it would also be fruitless, for the Soviet Government has generously promised to print all the communications in full and to issue an elaborately produced and richly illustrated report to all registered members of the International Association for Iranian Art and Archaeology, which was responsible for the organisation of the Congress as far as Western Europe and America were concerned. (The Association, of which Dr. Sarre is President, Mr. Pope Secretary, and Professor D. Talbot Rice Treasurer, will also be responsible for the organisation of the Fourth Congress, to be held in Paris in 1937.) But the ambitious and admirable exhibition which was organised in the Hermitage at Leningrad, may be noticed at greater length, not only because Leningrad is unfortunately so far distant that only a limited number of specialists and hardly

any amateurs outside Russia, or at most, Eastern Europe, may hope to visit it, but also because its arrangement and conception offers us something that is quite unknown in Western Europe or America.

From purely artistic and archaeological points of view the exhibition was definitely outstanding, for the rich collections of the Hermitage were supplemented for the occasion by loans from all the provincial museums of the Soviet Union, not often seen by foreigners, as well as from Persia and from a few collections, both private and public, in Western Europe. In spite of these loans, however, it was the Hermitage collection of Sasanian silver that was the most striking feature of the exhibition. This has long been recognised as by far the most important in the world, and it has luckily been fully and excellently published. (Smirnov, *L'Argenterie Orientale*, St. Petersburg, 1909. A new and supplementary publication, *Orfèvrerie Sasanide*, Moscow, 1935, in Russian, by Orbeli and Trever, was presented to all delegates to the Congress.) In this province at least those who visited Leningrad knew what to expect, but few of them probably ever realised to the full, firstly, how remarkably fine much of the material was from the artistic point of view, and, secondly, how extremely informative it could be if its message were correctly and intelligently interpreted.

In the first place, Sasanian art has in the past, and by certain purists is even today, regarded as essentially barbaric, however striking it may be. This hint of barbarism as a fundamental character was finally dispelled in the Hermitage galleries, in any case with regard to the majority of the material. There is, for instance, little that is barbaric about the well-known gold ewer and its accompanying set of drinking cups shown in Figure 1. The ewer has

a fineness of proportion and grandeur of conception about it which is distinctly classical, and points to a highly developed and cultured society. In the second place, to take this ewer and its cups as an example, we see how the classical spirit survives in Sasanian art of the sixth century A.D., and yet how the purely Persian element is to be discerned alongside it. Thus the cups are in appearance far more Persian than the ewer, and they are similarly Persian in the light-heartedness of their conception, for they have double sides, and between is a small pellet, so that if shaken when empty they ring like a bell—an admirable and truly oriental method of summoning the cup-bearer.

Sasanian art retains this dignity to the end, though the classical elements are gradually swallowed up. Thus many of the later silver-gilt dishes strike by the excellence of their proportions and the balance of their designs, though they are essentially Sasanian, while certain vessels of bronze which herald the Moslem age have the same spirit, and show a similar blend of grandeur and lightness. An aquamanile in the form of a duck, from northern Persia, early Islamic in the Sasanian manner, may serve as an example (*Fig. 2*). It has a restrained yet intense expression about it that is wholly admirable.

The aesthetic quality of this Sasanian metal work could perhaps have been appreciated elsewhere without the profusion of the Hermitage—the British Museum and the Cabinet des Médailles give a hint of the conclusions that become inevitable at Leningrad—but it is doubtful whether the full importance of this Sasanian material could have been so clearly brought home in any other setting. The plates, ewers, and dishes were not arranged as masterpieces, in a selective manner, nor were they set apart in a separate gallery as “specimens of Sasanian metal work”: they were distributed through

three galleries, in juxtaposition with contemporary work in other materials and from other regions, so that the different works not only served to throw light upon one another, but, more important, presented an amazingly complete picture of the whole culture that was responsible for their production. The fine textile shown in *Figure 3* thus took its place beside a plate with similar design, a cock with head turned round to admire his own tail, and this served to prove it a Sasanian piece beyond possibility of doubt, and at the same time showed that the art was not one which hoarded its best for one material, but which was universal, permitting of no possibility of a distinction between “fine” and “applied” arts. The profusion of objects, moreover, revealed by their form and design the energy and vital quality, the rather pompous grandeur, yet the essentially humorous outlook, of their age, and they threw striking light on the trade, migrations and transference of ideas over the whole Near Eastern area.

The light thus thrown-upon the nature of the various ages of Iranian art and the evolution of culture in the neighbouring areas was, indeed, one of the most striking features of the exhibition, and as one walked through its galleries one could assimilate almost at a glance not only the differences between the actual products of successive ages, but also the very soul and spirit of each of them. The vast cauldron from Samarkand (*Fig. 4*), for instance, seen together with numerous fragments of faïence-mosaic in which deep blue and black predominate, gave an amazingly vivid picture of Tīmūr and his court, of that semi-barbarous, semi-polished conqueror, who would stop at nothing to accomplish his aims, who would slaughter thousands, and at the same time pause to admire the exquisite delicacy of a miniature. The huge vessel, taller than a man, seen alongside the superbly delicate patterns of the faïence-mosaics, could only have



FIG. 1—GOLD EWER AND CUPS, SASANIAN, PROBABLY VI CENTURY



FIG. 2—BRONZE AQUAMANILE, EARLY ISLAMIC IN THE SASANIAN MANNER



FIG. 3—TEXTILE, SASANIAN, PROBABLY VI CENTURY



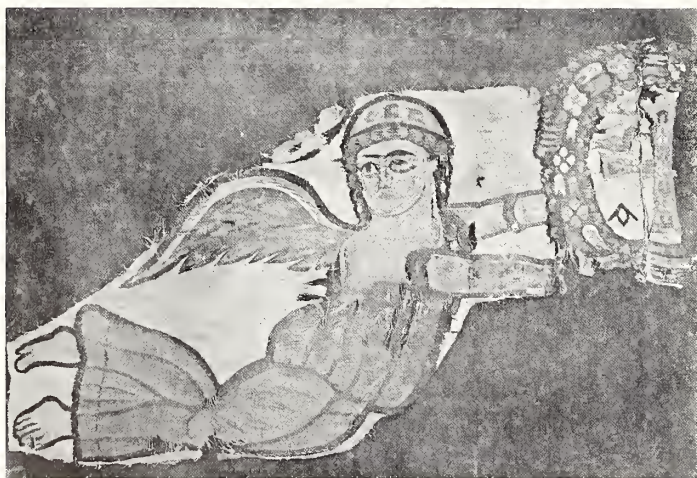
FIG. 4—CAULDRON OF TĪMŪR, EARLY XV CENTURY, FROM SAMARKAND



a—IN SASANIAN ART, TĀK-I-BUSTĀN
EARLY VI CENTURY



b—IN BYZANTINE ART, THE BARBERINI IVORY
c. 500, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE



c—IN CHRISTIAN EGYPT, TEXTILE, V CENTURY
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM



d—SURVIVAL OF THE MOTIF IN THE
XII CENTURY, SELDJŪK SCULPTURE
KONYA MUSEUM

FIG. 5—THE SPREAD AND SURVIVAL OF THE HELLENISTIC WINGED VICTORY

been produced at the demand of such a patron.

Equally striking was the light that the exhibition cast upon the interrelations and intermixture of all the cultures of hither and central Asia, from the sixth or seventh century B.C. down to the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D., and the manner in which it stressed the survival of styles in areas to which they were originally foreign, but where they had been introduced at an early date. Objects were thus grouped together in rooms or cases to illustrate this survival, and though we cannot reproduce such a room or case here, we have attempted to give an idea of this system of arrangement in the series of photographs reproduced together in Figure 5. The famous winged victory at Tāk-i-Bustān, of the early sixth century, the well-known textile from Egypt in the Victoria and Albert Museum, of the fifth century, and the top portion of the Barberini ivory in the Louvre, of about 500, all show a closely similar rendering of an older motif in three far separated regions, at much the same time, while the Seldjūq sculpture from Konya, of the twelfth century, shows the survival of the motif down to a comparatively late date. The advantages of this method are paramount; it not only points out the nature and presence of interrelations, but also shows how vital and important were certain streams of art, and where an art motif was powerful enough to survive, it stands to reason that the culture which produced it was equally influential. Objects were similarly grouped to illustrate other cultural phases, such as the cult of imperialism, as illustrated in so much Sasanian plate, or something approaching the cult of mystic symbolism, to be seen in the frequent repetition of such favourite motifs as the bird-beast or *Sīmorgh*.

Seen in close proximity, many resemblances and relationships that had not hitherto seemed obvious were made plain, and with them clearly fixed in one's mind, the history of the develop-

ment of arts and cultures in Iran and in the neighbouring lands became far more easily comprehensible. The Sasanian plate of the seventh or eighth century shown in Figure 6 thus at once fell into its appropriate place in one's mental vision of Sasanian art when one saw it in association with such an example of "Scythian" gold as the superb stag from Kostromskaya Stanitsa, of the seventh or sixth century B.C. (*Fig. 7*). It showed us concretely and obviously that the "Scythian" world was fundamentally of the north, and that it had developed something intrinsically its own at an early date, which penetrated just as powerfully and survived just as long as did the Hellenistic winged victory shown in Figure 5. The whole position of the deer on the plate in Figure 6, its folded legs, and the method of showing the hoof, all point to the survival of a "Scythian" influence. In time, however, the Iranian world exercised its influence on the "Scythian," and this is to be seen in the presence of such motifs as the animal combat or such systems as the piercing through of plaques or the use of polychrome ornament on metal which is in style "Scythian." (We use the term "Scythian" here to denote a much older art and culture which flourished in Siberia and South Russia, and which we know best through its latest manifestation, the Scythian properly speaking.) The wide influence of the mingled Irano-Scythian style is admirably illustrated by the quilted stuffs of the very beginning of the Christian era found in northern Mongolia by the Koslov expedition (*Fig. 8*). These Koslov stuffs were known to most of us through photographs, but few who had not actually seen them could have realised the full magnificence and excellence of the work. In the most recent publication devoted to them, coloured plates have been given, but even these fall far short of the originals. (Camilla Trever, *Excavations in Northern Mongolia*, Leningrad, 1932, in English.)

In a totally opposite direction contacts between Iran and her neighbours were no less clearly illustrated, and that ineffectual barrier which was once erected to separate the Christian and Islamic arts of the Nearer East was, we hope finally, broken down. Here the exhibition showed even more obviously than with regard to the region to the east that it is essential to consider the whole of Hither Asia as a unity if we are to understand its art and culture, and that there is nothing more misleading than a rigid distinction between the Byzantine Christian and the Moslem or other arts. A pottery bowl from the Chersonese, of the thirteenth or, more probably, the fourteenth century, serves as proof (*Fig. 9*). It is on the one side closely allied to Persia, especially with regard to the treatment and understanding of the equestrian figure; on the other it is paralleled in numerous examples of Byzantine pottery, especially with regard to the birds that surround the rider. A fragment of pottery from Kiev of about the tenth century is equally illuminating (*Fig. 10*). Its design shows a survival of the Sasanian manner, but the technique is one that is so far only known at Preslav and Patleina in Bulgaria, at Constantinople, and at Nicomedia. The Kiev example broadens our sphere, for it affords a link in the chain, and confirms the oriental affinities suggested for this ware. But the question of the origin of the technique remains unsolved, and it is possible that in this instance Byzantium was the initiator, though she was in many others the receiver. In any case the Kiev fragment did not seem much out of place in a case of Rayy polychrome ware of the thirteenth century, whereas its Byzantine and Bulgarian cousins are without doubt to be assigned to the ninth and tenth centuries. (The Kiev fragment must be at least as early as the tenth century. It was assigned to the twelfth when originally published. See *Memoirs of the Kiev Academy of Science*, 1930,

in Ukrainian, with a summary in French.) In the eastern world the only early technique that is allied is that used in the group of pottery known as "Samarḳand ware" (*Fig. 11*). In both we see the use of a thick, upstanding pigment under the glaze, and in both the red bolus, which later becomes the hall-mark of a group of Turkish ceramics from Iznik, is used. But the colours and the designs are so very different that it would be hazardous to suggest a relationship.

Here again the Hermitage exhibition threw much new light, for Samarḳand ware is only known in the West through a few scattered examples, whereas the Hermitage offered three large wall-cases, each containing, besides a quantity of fragments, numerous complete, or well-nigh complete, bowls.

Only with regard to the later thirteenth and fourteenth century potteries and the superb carpets and textiles of the great revival of Persian art under the Ṣafawids, which were such a striking feature of the London exhibition, did that at Leningrad fail to convey a full idea, both of the sumptuousness of the works themselves and of the polished nature of the culture of the age which produced them, and the manuscripts, though individually fine, were not enough to make good this deficiency. But contemporary societies outside Russia, more especially those of the semi-nomad world to the north, were admirably portrayed, and a room devoted to north-east Persia and the Ottoman world, where pottery, Kubatča from the one, Iznik from the other, and silks and velvets, were displayed, was not only informative and thoroughly pleasing, but also afforded much material for thought and serious study.

Apart from the magnificence of the Sasanian silver, the fineness of the quality of the early pottery and textiles, the interest of metal and some curious sculptures from Dāghestān, or the wonder of the Koslov find, the chief interest of



FIG. 6—SASANIAN PLATE, SILVER-GILT, VII OR VIII CENTURY

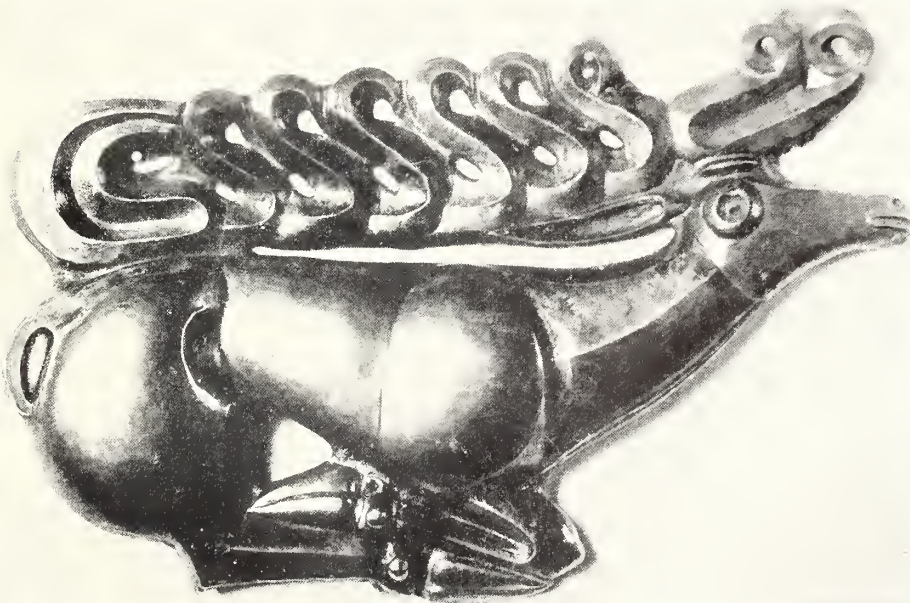


FIG. 7—STAG IN GOLD, SCYTHIAN, FROM KOSTROMSKAYA STANITSA
VII OR VI CENTURY B.C.



FIG. 8—QUILTED STUFF FROM NOIN-ULA. I CENTURY A.D., KOSLOV FIND



FIG. 9—BOWL FROM THE CHERSONESE, XIII OR XIV CENTURY



FIG. 10—BASE OF BOWL, BYZANTINE POLYCHROME WARE
PROBABLY X CENTURY, KIEV MUSEUM



FIG. 11—BOWL, BOWL, SAMARKAND WARE
X CENTURY, LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE

the exhibition was, as we have already noted, its conception and arrangement. The actual presentation of the objects in the cases or on the walls was more than successful, and the system, treating art as an illustration of the history of society, treating history as a series of cultural periods, and stressing all the while the ethnic and cultural backgrounds, is one which should be adopted in all museums. The authorities of the Hermitage are to be whole-heartedly congratulated. The exhibition was a great tribute to their scholarship and method; it was a great tribute to the glorious past of Persia, and if, somewhat ironically, it showed with striking clarity the valuelessness of contemporary Persian art, it was not the system that was to blame.

D. Talbot Rice

A REVIEW OF POLISH PUBLICATIONS ON ISLAMIC ART

The interest taken in Poland in Islamic art and its influences on the art of that country does not relatively date far back. It was once believed that these influences stood in connection with the wars between Poland and the Ottoman Empire, and that the spoils brought home from the field of battle had awakened the taste for Eastern art and had propagated the imitation of Eastern ornaments in objects of art, especially in artistic industry.

The study of archives, however, has proved that mutual commercial penetration in times of peace has been a factor of much bigger importance than the influence of the wars between the two countries. This penetration reaches far back into the Middle Ages and has caused the import of a large number of Eastern commodities into Poland, among them many objects of art, above all costly tissues, cold steel, as well as everything connected with the horse.

The archives which inform us as to the influences of Islamic art in Poland are various and numerous. They are connected with the

part of mediator enacted by the southeastern Polish territories and their towns where the trade with the East concentrated, such as Lwów, Jazłowiec, Zamość, Brody, and Kamieniec Podolski.

The richest among these sources are the archives in Lwów which give us the most important information and details concerning the influence of Islamic art.

The Turkish, Persian, Greek, and Armenian merchants who had come from the East submitted to the sentences of the law-courts of Lwów in their wrangles with the population, and even in quarrels ensuing among themselves. The Polish courts decided very often with the agreement of the litigants. We thus find judicial acts in the town archives from the end of the XIVth century which not only throw light on the problem of the commercial roads by which wares were carried from Kaffa, the Genoese colony in Crimea, via Lwów and further on through Polish territory to the West, but which speak at the same time of the different objects of artistic industry which came by this way from the East. Reciprocally a large amount of textile ware from Flanders, as well as amber-goods from the countries on the Baltic sea, passed Lwów on their way to the East, forming one of the branches of the wide-spread Levantine trade.

The archives of Lwów and of Kamieniec Podolski give us a vivid picture of this trade. When the Turks settled on the Bosphorus and in the Balkan peninsula this picture did not disappear but only suffered an interruption. In spite of the frequent wars, the commercial and artistic ties between Poland and the countries under Muḥammadan rule grew stronger. An important part was played by the Armenian element which formed rich and numerous colonies in the southeastern cities with autonomous privileges granted by the kings of Poland and with their own jurisdiction. It is again in the legal registers of the Armenians that we find a

variegated picture of the artistic culture of the Polish border-town where East and West met and intermingled. They reflect the commercial as well as the artistic life of the faraway cities of Asia Minor and Persia from where the merchants travelled to the fairs of Lwów and Kamieniec Podolski to strike bargains and to lead their law-suits.

Besides these legal MS. acts, the printed ones are not of lesser weight. Not all of them contain news which is of importance to the historian of art. One does not encounter them earlier than the XVIth century, and one must not overlook such material as, for instance, the description of two travels to Tartary which Marcin Broniewski undertook in his quality of Ambassador to king Stefan Batory (*Martini Broniovii de Biezdzfedeia bis in Tatarian nomine Stephani Primi Poloniae Regis legati Tatariae descriptio . . . Coloniae Agrippinae 1545*). It contains information about the commercial roads between Poland and Crimea by which Eastern ware, especially costly tissues, were brought to Poland. A map of roads designed by the author himself is also of great interest.

The XVIIth century has given us several publications, the most weighty of which is *A Relation by Sefer Muratowicz of his Travels in Persia where he was sent by King Zygmunt III in 1602*. It appeared in print from the MS. in Warsaw in 1777, and a second edition was printed in 1807. It contains the description of a journey made by Sefer Muratowicz, a Polish Armenian, who spent the years 1601 and 1602 in Persia, where he stayed mostly in Işfahān and Kāshān. The information given by him about the weaving-work shops of Shāh 'Abbās I the Great in Kāshān is very important, and it is there that S. Muratowicz ordered and oversaw the execution of rugs for the king of Poland. The fact that these rugs are still existing and that we are enabled to identify them adds a special weight to his relation and help in eluci-

dating the history of textile art in Persia.

Neither is the description of the travels undertaken by the Armenian Simeon from Lwów without interest. It has been published in Armenian by N. Akinian from a MS. which is in the possession of the university library in Lwów. It appeared in the periodical *Handes Amsoriya* (Vienna 1933-1934), under the title "Description of his Travels by the author Simeon from Lwów." In the course of 1605-1615 Simeon had visited Asia Minor, Palestine and Egypt four times, and his descriptions of some towns with details concerning their architecture might be of interest for an historian of art.

In the description of his travels Father Tadeusz Krusiński, a Jesuit missionary born in Lwów, occupies himself especially with Persia where he spent the years from 1711-1728. He has left several works, known to the orientalis, about Persia of his day. It is however the modern edition of his *Tragedy of the last Persian War*, published in several languages, which is of first-rate importance for the historian of art. Already it had been published in Latin in 1734, and a second edition was printed in 1740. Both were issued in Lwów. It contains, pressed into concise words, the description of the organisation of the royal weaving-work shops in Persia under Shāh 'Abbās I the Great, and an enumeration of the localities where they were established. It characterises their institutions, describes the Persian trade in tissues, rugs, etc. Krusiński's work may be said to form an authentic supplement to the well-known records of Chevalier Chardin's travels, since it is based on the author's exact knowledge of things, and in consequence is of infinite value, and as it seems, unique in its kind.

The materials of the latest times are contained in another manuscript source. This is the ledger of the mercantile house Nikorowicz, which embraces the period between 1753-1774. The invoices concern the trade in tissues and

cold steel and were written both in Istanbul, from where the ware was exported to Poland, and in Lwów where it was imported. The two Nikorowicz, Grzegorz the father and his son Szymon, were Armenians who had settled in Lwów. They lived, however, by turns in Istanbul. The MS. containing the list of the wares and the invoices belongs now to the private library of the Counts Dzieduszycki in Lwów. Besides the registers of wares we meet here and there descriptions of the costly tissues, their names, an enumeration made of the Istanbul work-shops where they were woven, agreements of delivery and so on. All this enables us to look into the Eastern weaving production of those times, especially into that of Eastern scarfs which Poland imported in large numbers from the Turkish capital. The Nikorowicz ledger is also an important source of nomenclature of Eastern tissues.

The material which it contains and which illustrates the trade in Eastern tissues and cold steel between Poland, Turkey and Persia, finds its supplement in commercial registers, in inventories of dowries, in deeds concerning the division of property of Polish nobility, in which large numbers of rugs, makats, scarfs, and ornamented Eastern cold steel are enumerated. They are at the same time a confirmation of the love for objects of Islamic artistic industry which reigned in Poland, especially in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

It is on the basis of such materials, as well as on that of the numerous Polish collections of objects of Eastern type, that the few Polish historians who occupied themselves with these problems have made their research. Their efforts went above all in the direction of tracing the ties of culture and art that once existed between Poland and the Islamic East, and in the first place between Poland and the Turkish territories adjacent to the southeastern borders of Poland, and subsequently with Persia. Until

present times, Polish students of art rarely took part in investigations of Islamic art except when they pertained to its influence in Poland.

The investigations were begun by Władysław Łoziński who, in his book *Patriciate and Commonality of the Citizens in Lwów during the XVIth and XVIIth century*, called the reader's attention to the part of mediator played by Lwów in the artistic exchange between East and West, and cited Lwów as the town which spread Islamic decorative art all over the wide territories of Poland. In his second book, entitled *Gold and Silver Ware in Lwów*, Łoziński accentuates the Eastern elements in the goldsmith's art in Lwów, due to the participation of Armenian goldsmiths. The author treats this fact in his work entitled *Armenian Epilogue to the Goldsmith's Art in Lwów* (Cracov, 1901).

We feel entitled to state that the study of the problem of Eastern art begins only with Łoziński's work. It is he who, first of all, directed scientific research toward the influence of Islamic art, and called attention to the objects of art still existing, in which the character of Eastern and Western art unite and intermingle.

Studies which preceded those of Łoziński are the following: *Information Concerning Industry and Art in Old Poland* (Cracov, 1888) by Julian Kołaczkowski; "Polish Scarfs, Their Weaving-Work Shops and Their Marks" by Alfred Römer, and "The Weaving-Work Shop of Scarfs of the Radziwiłłs in Słuck" by Aleksander Jelski (both reports were made to the Board of the Academy of Science for Investigating the History of Art in Poland, Vol. V). These gave, in fact, a great deal of information about the ancient textile industry in Poland, but they did not state the evident influence of Islamic art on it. This was done by Tadeusz Krygowski in his essay "Polenteppiche," which he published in German (*Orientalisches Archiv*, Band I, Leipzig, 1911/12). It is not, however, written in a scientific manner. In declaring them

to be made in Poland, Krygowski introduced misunderstandings and false conceptions into the problem of the origin of silk rugs interwoven with gold and silver threads, which today are acknowledged to be beyond any doubt Persian.

As the present article bears the character of a report and in some way that of a bibliography, I am obliged to speak also of my own works concerning the ties which existed between Islamic and Polish art. These studies were put before the Polish Academy of Science in the following consecutive reports.

The report published in 1932 under the title "East and West in the Polish Weaving Industry of the XVIIth Century" speaks of the turning-point in the taste of Polish society which abandoned Italian patterns in weaving and began to favour imitations of the tissues of Islamic art. The weaving-work shops opened by hetman Koniecpolski in Brody furnish proof of this point.

The report dated 1933 and entitled "Eastern Scarfs and Polish Scarfs" in part concerns Islamic art directly, as it speaks of the weaving of scarfs in Istanbul for export to Poland during the XVIIIth century, as well as of the influence the Eastern scarfs exercised on the birth of the type of Polish scarfs.

The report entitled "Lwów Manufacture" which was put before the Society of Science in Lwów in 1934, depicts the part played, during the XVIIth century, by the artistic industry of this town which produced everything that had to do with the horse and cold steel. It distinctly bears the stamp of the influence exercised by Islamic art beside forms of Western style.

The report laid before the Polish Academy of Science in 1934, "Baroque, Oriental and Sarmatic Currents," describes the part enacted by Islamic art, especially by Islamic artistic industry, and by oriental ornament in the formation of that current in the spirit and culture of the Poland of the XVIIth century which later on

was to be given the name of "Sarmatism," and its relation to the west-European Baroque.

Finally a larger work of mine, *Art of the Armenians in Lwów* (Cracov, 1934), speaks of the commercial part of mediator that the Armenian element played in the spreading of Islamic art in Poland. Already in the Middle Ages Armenian art itself shows adaptations of the ornamental forms of Islamic architecture, of which the Armenian cathedral is the best proof.

These monographic studies collected in one whole and completed by additional chapters have served to form my more extensive work, *Islamic Art in Poland during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, which at the present stage of research seems to exhaust the problem of the influence of Islamic art in Polish territory. Among other things there is a discussion of such objects as Persian rugs which were brought to Poland and whose patterns were imitated by Polish weaving manufacture. It also embraces the study of the Polish woolen carpets of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, etc. In this work the influences of Islamic art in Poland are understood to be one of the factors entering into the formation of the so-called "Sarmatism."

The small vocabulary which forms an appendix to this publication will not be without importance for the history of weaving in Poland. It contains the names concerning the history of weaving in Poland which have been borrowed by the Polish language from Turkish, Persian, and Arabic.

All the above mentioned works have spoken of the influence of Islamic art in Poland and there is nothing astonishing in the fact that just this problem was foremost in the minds of the Polish scholars. They, however, also touched directly the problem of Islamic art itself.

Among these works it behooves me to mention in the first place H. Seraja Szapszał's *Pictures of Moslem Saints and the Iconographic Roman Catholic Influences in Persia* (Wilno,

1934). This study speaks of the artistic tendencies of Iran and of the Roman Catholic influences on Persian religious art, of iconographic borrowing from European models made by Persian art, and lastly it shows the part which the relations between Persia and Poland played in that period since the XVIth century. To a certain degree M. H. Szapszał's work, which is based on materials gathered by the author during a long stay in Persia, forms the counterpart to Professor Marçais' study in Vol. VII of the periodical *Byzantion*, 1932 ("La question des images dans l'art musulman").

A work published in French but written by a Polish author contains material of great importance for the history of Persian miniature painting. This treatise by Stefan Komornicki, "Les principaux manuscrits à peintures orientaux du Musée des princes Czartoryski" (*Bulletin de la Société de reproduction des manuscrits à peintures*, Paris, 1934), speaks of objects belonging to a collection in Cracov, and contains descriptions and reproductions of miniatures from the XVth–XVIIIth centuries which have not been published as yet.

My article, "Persian Metal Basin in the Armenian Cathedral in Lwów" (*Orientalist's Yearly*, Vol. IX, Lwów, 1934), has determined this basin as one of the bronze objects from Moşul belonging most likely to the second half of the XVIth century.

A thorough examination of the problems of the influence of Islamic art on one of the European countries, distinguishing as to where we have Turkish influences and where Persian ones, cannot remain without importance for the history of the expansion of Islamic culture and art taken as a whole. Beyond Poland analogous influences have been at work in Russia. They seem, however, not to have been explored in a like manner. As to Poland, we have endeavoured to show the results of Polish research in a former article in *Ars Islamica* (Vol. II, Part I).

The question arises if, besides the problem of the influence of Islamic art in Poland, Polish research has also helped in the solution of other numerous and important problems offered by Islamic art itself, whether in Turkey, in Persia, or in other lands of Islam. We believe that this is so, and it is most astonishing that the solution of such questions concerns much more the far-away Persia than the countries which once bordered on Polish territory.

The confirmation of such facts as the production of scarfs in Istanbul, which was still very large in the XVIIIth century, and the enumeration of the weaving-work shops where they were made and such details are indeed not deprived of importance. Nevertheless the facts based on Polish sources and relative to Persian textile art in the zenith of its development under *Shāh 'Abbās I* the Great are of a far greater and fundamental significance.

The first of them is the report made by Sefer Muratowicz, who had been sent to Persia by the Polish king, Zygmunt III, in 1601, and it identifies the rugs belonging now to the Residenz Museum in Munich, which bear that king's coat of arms, as having been made in *Kāshān* in a special flat technique. The stating of the place and date of their execution, and the simultaneous identification of the weaving-technique used at that time by the weavers in *Kāshān*, is doubtlessly of great weight for Persian art.

The second collaboration by Polish research in the history of Persian art is Father Krusiński's description of the organisation of the regal weaving-manufactures of *Shāh 'Abbās I* and the definition of their characteristic features which were previously unknown.

Tadeusz Mańkowski

A NOTE ON THE AUTOMATA OF AL-DJAZĀRĪ

There appeared in the *Art Bulletin*, Vol. XI (1929) pp. 206 ff., an article by Prof. Riefstahl

on "The Date and Provenance of the Automata Miniatures." He accepted the Egyptian origin of the MS. on the basis of Creswell's criterion, namely that two of the miniatures contain on architectural motifs an inscription in praise of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ṣālīḥ; but he adds that "... no additional proof of the Egyptian origin is forthcoming. . . ."

An examination of Figure 3 in the article reveals some very interesting material which practically clinches the argument for the Egyptian origin of the MS. These are the conventional signs referred to on p. 210 of the article. They consist of three horizontal lines of seven circles each containing the letters of the Arabic alphabet in *abjad* order. Each Arabic letter has two corresponding signs written below; the whole is explained thus by the Arabic text above: "... twenty-one letters of the alphabet and their correspondents, twenty-one letters serving as a key for him who knows them and employs them properly (thanks are due Prof. Hitti for reading this last verb, which is very unclear in the original); [these are] represented by twenty-one letters useless to him who does not understand." The letters which form the key seem to be the first in each of the pairs below the Arabic letters, beginning from the right, of course. The characters are not meaningless, as might appear at first glance, but are at least in part a mixture of Greek and Coptic letters with figures from the Egyptian hieroglyphic sign-list which may be consulted in Alan H. Gardner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford, 1927, pp. 435-527. The Coptic-Greek letters which can be clearly read are: **o**, **z**, **Δ**, **ι**, **z**, **ω**, **Θ**, **ω**, **†**, **π**, **Φ**. The undoubted hieroglyphic signs appear to be: **U**, **U** (double uraeus?), **ⲗ**, **ⲛ**, **ⲟ**, **ⲑ**, **ⲓ**, **ⲛ**.

The present writer does not claim to be a Coptic or Egyptian scholar, but there is sufficient evidence above to show that the MS. must have been composed in Egypt, since only there

would such a mixture of characters be likely to occur.

Finally, the reading of the author's name on the title-page (Fig. 4) offers no difficulties. The inscription within the central octagon reads: *taṣnīf abi al-'Izz ibn Ismā'il ibn al-Razzāz al-Djazīri, raḥimahu Allāh* (the work of Abu al-'Izz ibn Ismā'il ibn al-Razzāz al-Djazīri, may God have mercy on him!). The form *Djazīri* is a less correct, but still common, variant of *Djazārī*; it is beside the point to introduce any such reading as al-Ḥazīri, as Riefstahl has done (p. 209).

Harold W. Glidden

ABOUT ONE OF THE "TWO QUESTIONS IN MOSLEM ART"

In the first part of a paper entitled "Two Questions in Moslem Art" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April 1935, pp. 285 ff.) Mr. Nicholas N. Martinovitch criticized my two articles on the Fātiḥ mosque at Istanbul, one published ten and the other six years ago ("Die Gestalt der alten Mohammedije in Konstantinopel und ihr Baumeister," *Belvedere*, Bd. 9, 1926, pp. 83 ff.; "The Fātiḥ Mosque at Constantinople," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. XII, 1930, pp. 179 ff.). He has tried to convince his readers how uncritical I was in the discussion of the artistic development of Turkish architecture, how erroneous were my conclusions, and that all experts disagree with my opinions concerning the original architectural shape of the Fātiḥ mosque and its architect.

It is quite unnecessary to repeat here what has been said in the above mentioned articles. Therefore the following notes will be devoted to the criticisms of Mr. Martinovitch.

In the first place he argues about the architect of the old Fātiḥ mosque, and after repeating several times the name of the legendary "Christodulos" he says that the present writer *happened to find in a Turkish chronicle a pas-*

sage, in which the architect of our mosque is named Sinān. Moreover, he discovered that Sinān's full name was Sinān ad-Dīn Yūsuf ban (son of) 'Abdallah and that his nickname was al-'Atīq. On the basis of these data our author made a conclusion that Sinān was the builder of the old Fātiḥ mosque (p. 286).^{*} To confirm that my conclusion is not solid he adds: *the original text of the anonymous chronicle is unknown and undated* (p. 287). It is generally known to the scholars of Ottoman history that the text of the chronicle published by Prof. Fr. Giese is based on a comparative study of several MSS. Although we are not informed about the name of its author and the exact date of its completion, it was indicated by Prof. Giese that the work was "unter Bajezid II. angefertigt, und zwischen 1490 und 1512 n. Chr. verfasst" ("Einleitung zur Ausgabe der Tawarrih-i Al-i 'Osman," *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, Bd. I, p. 64). The information about Mi'mār Sinān is not, as a matter of fact, in the section of the book dealing with the history of Ottoman Sulṭāns, but in the appended part devoted to the history of Constantinople. The origin of this part of the chronicle, as the late J. H. Mordtmann pointed out, goes back to Byzantine sources (*Altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, hg. von Fr. Giese, Übersetzung, Leipzig, 1925, p. 100). In this section of the chronicle we find additional remarks and statements of the anonymous author, among which is also the information on Mi'mār Sinān. The Turkish text and the German translation of the passage by Prof. Giese in which the architect is mentioned, is as follows:

منت خدایه کم کند کوزکوزله کردکز کم سلطان محمد
استنبولده یکی جامعی وسکز مدرسه وعمارتی و تیمارخانه
یاپن معمار سنانی دوکه دوکه نجه حبس اچنده اولدردی

^{*}The quotations from Mr. Martinovitch's article are in italics.

"Gott sei Dank habt ihr mit eigenen Augen gesehen, wie Sultan Mehmed in Stambul den Baumeister Sinan, der die neue Moschee, acht Medresen, Imarete und Krankenhäuser erbaut hat, nach langen Züchtigung einkerkern und töten liess" (*op. cit.*, Text p. 100; Übersetzung, p. 133).

That this Mi'mār Sinān is not an invention of the anonymous author, or a *discovery* of the present writer, such as "Christodulos" of D. Cantemir, is definitely proved by the other documents which were discussed in my first article, and which are not taken into consideration by Mr. Martinovitch. The most important among these documents is the tombstone of Mi'mār Sinān. What was said about the tombstone of the architect in the writer's article ("Die Gestalt der alten Mohammedije . . ." p. 93) can also be found in the recently published book on the mosques of Istanbul by Dr. Halil Edhem: "En effet, l'architecte de la mosquée primitive est connu. Sa tombe de style ancien se trouve dans le jardin du Koumroulou mesdjid non loin de Fatih. L'építaphe d'une écriture très enchevêtrée a été déchiffrée par Hafiz Kémal Bey. Elle porte le nom 'Sinan' l'architecte et la date de sa mort du 3 septembre 1471 (H. 17 Rébi I. 876)" (Halil Edhem, *Nos Mosquées de Stamboul*, Stamboul, 1934, p. 50; see also Ernest Mamboury, *Constantinople*, Constantinople, 1925, p. 391).

The tomb of Mi'mār Sinān, as a matter of fact, was seen and mentioned one and a half centuries ago by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain Efendī ben Ḥādīdī Ismā'īl Aīwānsarāyī, who wrote in the year 1768 A.D. a very valuable book on the mosques of Istanbul entitled *Hadīkat al-Djawāmi'*. On pages 170-171 of the first volume (Istanbul, 1281 A.H.) we find the following information which confirms the observation of modern writers and at the same time proves the statement of the anonymous chronicle:

قمریلى مسجدی در قرب جامع نشانی پاشای جدید

بانیسی ابو الفتح سلطان محمد خانک تربہ سی جوارندہ
واقع جامع کبیرک معماری اولان معمار سناندر مسجد
مزبورک جوارندہ مدفوندر

"Kümrülü Masdjidī in the vicinity of the new mosque of Nishandjī Pāshā. The founder (of this masdjid) is the architect of the great mosque next to the mausoleum of Sultān Mehmed Khān, Mi'mār Sinān. He is buried next to the mentioned masdjid."

Besides this very convincing document we possess also two foundation records of the Kümrülü Masdjid in the Archives of the Evkaf administration in Istanbul, one dated 869 A.H./1464 A.D., and the other 873 A.H./1468 A.D., in which the architect is named Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf ben Abd Allāh Mi'mār al-'Atīk ("Die Gestalt der alten Mohammedije . . ." p. 93). Consequently there cannot be the slightest doubt about the historical personality of the mentioned architect.

Strangely enough, in spite of these facts, Mr. Martinovitch insists on saying: *we know that in the time of Muḥammad II several mosques were built* (p. 287); i.e. he wanted to say that Mi'mār Sinān of the anonymous chronicle could have been the architect of some other mosque. Of course the time of Sultān Mehmet witnessed the construction of many mosques, but none of them were built with eight madrasas, an asylum and a hospital, except the mosque of the Conqueror. It is a well known fact that the Fātiḥ mosque is mentioned in many Turkish historical sources always as a part of a group of buildings. Here, for example, is the passage from the *Tārīkh al-'Othmān* by 'Ashīk Pāshā Zādē (*Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Ashīkpašazāde*, hg. von Fr. Giese, Leipzig, 1929, p. 195):

استانبول کم فتح ایتدی سکن عالی مدرسه یاپدی واور تاسنده
بر اولو جامع و مقابلسنک بر طرفنه بر عالی عمارت یاپدی
و بر طرفنه بر عالی دار الشفا یاپدی

"When he conquered Istanbul, he built eight sublime madrasas, and in the center of these a great mosque, and on the side against (the mosque) he built a sublime asylum and on the other side a sublime hospital."

Mr. Martinovitch then expresses the opinion that: *Sinān, mentioned in the chronicle quoted by A.-O., could be confused with some other Sināns. For instance, Awliya Chalabī says: "Abdal Sinān, when Mi'mār Bāshī, added some embellishments to this mosque," and not one word about the architect* (p. 287). It is impossible to speak about any confusion. The statement of Ewliyā Čelebi to which Mr. Martinovitch refers is a misinterpretation. The Turkish author does not speak about "Abdāl Sinān," a name which is given in the English translation of the *Siyāhat-Nāme (Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa in the Seventeenth Century* by Evliya Efendi, trans. by J. von Hammer, London, 1834, Vol. I, Part I, p. 69) but about the famous Kōdjā Mi'mār Sinān, court architect of Sultān Suleimān the Magnificent. Here is the text of this passage from the chapter on the description of the Fātiḥ mosque:

بعد ایام قوجه معمار سنان معمار خلیفه لکندن سر معمار
اولوب جامعه نیجه ضمیمه لر بنا ایلدی

"Afterward when Kōdjā Mi'mār Sinān was promoted from assistant architect to the chief architect he added some additions to the mosque," i.e. to the Fātiḥ Mosque (I, p. 140, Istanbul edition).

Mr. Martinovitch, after two pages devoted to the "Christodulos" problem tried to prove his cause from another angle by asserting: *we can add that the abbreviation "Sinān" from Sinān ad-Dīn is absolutely unusual. Let Dr. Aga-Oglu try to find any case in which Nūr ad-Dīn (Jāmī) is called simply Nūr, or Jalāl ad-Dīn (Rūmī)—Jalāl, or 'Alā ad-Dīn (Seljuq)—'Alā, and so on*" (p. 287). The following examples

are called to the attention of the reader to show that such abbreviations are quite customary:

1. Kādi Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmed of Kaīsarī, a member of the Seldjūk family of Asia Minor is called in the inscription of his daughter Ḥabībah (d. 850 A.H./1446 A.D.) by the abbreviated name Sulṭān Burhān (Max von Berchem et Halil Edhem, *Asie Mineure. Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Le Caire, 1910, pp. 50 ff.; Riḍwān Nāfiḍh-Ismā'il Haḳḳī, *Sīwas shahrī*, Istanbul, 1928, p. 154).

2. Al-Hadīdī Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 711 A.H./1311/12 A.D.). The mosque founded by him in Ankara is commonly called Saradī Sinān Masdīdī (Mübārek Ghālib, *Ankara*, Istanbul, 1341, I, p. 34; II, p. 12).

3. 'Omar ibn Nadīm al-Dīn, the architect of the madrasa of Shaikh al-Waṭṭār in Tripoli. The signature of the artist reads: 'Al-Mu'alim 'Omar bin Al-Nadīm (M. M. Sobernheim, *Syrie du Nord. Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Le Caire, 1909, p. 139).

4. Zahīr al-Dīn Fāriyābī, the famous Persian poet of the twelfth century is commonly called Zahīr-i Fāriyābī (Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīdē*, Leyden, 1910, Part I, pp. 821, 822; Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsi to Sa'di*, London, 1920, p. 412).

5. Akhī Muḥī al-Dīn is mentioned in the inscription of the mausoleum of his son in Tokāt, 717 A.H./1317/18 A.D., only as Muḥī (Halil Edhem, "Ānātoluda Islāmī Kitābelerī," *Tārīkh-i 'Oṭhmānī Endjūmenī Madjmu'asī*, Istanbul, 1934, No. 36, pp. 729-730; see also Ismā'il Haḳḳī, *Kitābeler*, Istanbul, 1927, p. 18).

6. 'Imād al-Dīn Faḍlū-i, a Persian poet of the thirteenth century, was known also as 'Imād-i Lūr (Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīdē*, I, p. 823; II, p. 225).

7. Kemāl al-Dīn Mas'ūd, a Persian poet of the fourteenth century, was also called in historical books by the abbreviated name Kemāl

Khodjandī (Cl. Huart, *Encyclopedie des Islam*, III, p. 908).

8. Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt, another Persian poet who died in 1182 A.D., is called in an important historical source al-Rashīd Waṭwāt (V. Bartold, *Turkestan v epoku mongolskago Nashestviya*, St. Petersburg, 1898, I, p. 70; see also E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 330).

9. Shaikh Ashak Djamāl al-Dīn, a Turkish calligrapher and theologian who died in 933 A.H./1526/27 A.D., was known as Djamāl Kha-lifē (Mustakīm Zādē Suleimān Sa'd al-Dīn Efendī, *Tuhfeyi Khattātīn*, Istanbul, 1928, p. 112).

10. Mīr Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn ben Muṣṭafa, also a Turkish calligrapher of the eighteenth century, is commonly called Nūrī Bey Efendī (*Ibid.*, p. 720; see also p. 573 Valī Khawādjē for Valī al-Dīn, p. 396 Tādī Zādē for Tādī al-Dīn).

11. Ghīyāth al-Dīn 'Alī, the famous Persian weaver of the Shāh 'Abbās period, signed all his admirable works with the abbreviated form of his name Ghīyāth (Phyllis Ackerman, "A Biography of Ghiyath the Weaver," *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, No. 7, Dec. 1934, p. 9).

12. Kemāl al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, Persian poet, is frequently mentioned as Kemāl Iṣfahānī ('Azīz ben Ardashīr Astrābādī, *Bazm wa Razm*, Istanbul, 1928, p. 11).

Many hundred more examples could be cited. During the Mamlūk period the abbreviation of names ending with al-Dīn was in general use, even in the official titles of sulṭāns and officers. Books on Arabic epigraphy are filled with such examples (G. Wiet, *Lampes et bouteilles en verre émaillé*, Le Caire, 1929, pp. 159, 160; M. M. Sobernheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff.; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 45, 57).

After noting the above examples Mr. Martinovitch must agree that the abbreviation about which we speak here was very usual; but, he

will probably object by saying that all these abbreviations have either an appellation or an epithet, neglecting the fact, as he did in his paper, that our architect is mentioned both in the anonymous chronicle and on his tombstone as "Mi'mār Sinān," *i.e.* in a form which is paralleled by the mentioned examples of Sultān Burhān, Saradī Sinān, etc.

Further, Mr. Martinovitch asks: *Why is it that all the Turkish historians and Kritobulos, the Greek, a contemporary author, are silent?* (about Christodulos); then answers: *Because the Greek did not dare to mention the talent of his compatriot, fearing the suspicions of the Turks* (p. 289). This explanation is also without any ground as the same Kritobulos speaks about Mehmet Pasha, the famous Wezir of Sultān Mehmet II, as being a son of a Greek noble (Kritobulos, *Tārīkh-i Sultān Mehmed Khān Thānī*, Turk. trans. by Karolidi, Istanbul, 1328, p. 192). Moreover, as support to his *solution of the problem* Mr. Martinovitch speaks about the *patriotic point of view* of the Turks and announces that *this has been already remarked upon by Wulzinger when he said that A.-O.'s theory is agreeable to the Turkish heart* (p. 289). He does not, however, quote the words of this scholar: "Dass bei den Untersuchungen A.-O.'s die legendäre Gestalt des griechischen Architekten Christodulos sehr in den Hintergrund trat und von einem bisher unbekannten türkischen Baumeister Sinān ed-Dīn Jusif ben Abdullah Mimar el-Atik abgelöst wurde" ("Die Apostelkirche und die Mehmedije zu Konstantinopel," *Byzantion*, VII, fasc. 1, 1932, pp. 9, 10). The same opinion is also expressed by Prof. E. Kühnel while speaking about the Fātiḥ mosque: "deren traditionelle Zuschreibung an den Griechen Christodulos neuerdings mit guten Gründen angezweifelt wird" ("Die Islamische Kunst" in Anton Springer's *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*,

Leipzig, 1929, VI, p. 527). On the other hand the remark about the *patriotic point of view* was quite out of place when I, myself, said that: "der Baumeister stammte zweifellos aus einer christlichen Familie ("Die Gestalt . . ." p. 94).

Toward the end of his paper Mr. Martinovitch discusses the question of the original architectural shape of the old Fātiḥ mosque: *The drawings of Melchior Lorichs are the principal documents used by A.-O. as proof of his opinion. But A.-O. himself knows that his author was in Constantinople between 1557 and 1561, i.e. when the Fātiḥ Mosque was already reconstructed* (p. 289). In the first place every person who is familiar with the contents of my articles knows that besides Melchior Lorichs' drawing, my documents for the reconstruction of the ground plan of the mosque were a detailed description of the old edifice by Ewliyā Čelebī and a picture of the mosque on a Turkish water conduit plan from the year 1673. Secondly, what does he mean by *reconstructed*? If he thinks that the mosque was repaired it is acceptable as it does not indicate that the ground plan of the building was changed; but if he wants to say that the mosque was rebuilt anew he makes another mistake, because this happened in the year 1765 and was witnessed by the contemporary writer, the author of *Hadīkat al-Djawāmi*, who reports in detail about the building (Vol. I, pp. 8-10).

In the opinion of Mr. Martinovitch: *Wulzinger in his article, many times mentioned above, criticizes A.-O.'s opinion, and his conclusion is that the Fātiḥ mosque was built under Byzantine influence* (p. 289). On the contrary Prof. Wulzinger accepted and improved the ground plan sketched by me. Here are the words of this scholar: "Angesichts dieser Lage erschien es als ein hohes Verdienst, dass . . . M. A.-O. der Entstehungsgeschichte und der

ersten Fassung der Mohammed-Moschee nachging und sie weitgehend klärte" and again "Uns ist es darum zu tun, auf den überzeugenden und schlüssigen Darlegungen M. A.-O.'s über den Typus der Moschee fussend, die Baugeschichte und das Aussehen des Aufbaus insbesondere vom Standpunkt des Baugeschichtlers und Architekten weiterhin zu klären" (*op. cit.*, pp. 8, 10).

The reconstruction of the ground plan of the old Fâtîh mosque is also accepted by other experts. Prof. R. M. Riefstahl, who published an article on the Selimiye mosque in Konya which is a replica of the old Fâtîh, says about the latter: "The new mosque was built on a plan entirely different from that of the original Fatih . . . we have a sufficient amount of information concerning the nature of the old mosque. The evidence discovered by A.-O. enables him to give a clear picture of the mosque and to publish a tentative plan" and that "the perfect concordance between the drawing and the description leaves no doubt that the schematic plan drawn up by A.-O. is correct in all main features ("Selimiyeh in Konya," *The Art Bulletin*, XII, No. 4, 1930, pp. 1, 2).

Let us now turn to Prof. E. Diez: "Die heutige Muhammedije ist eine Nachahmung der Schâhsâde Sinâns und stammt aus dem 18. Jahrh. . . . Die erste Muhammedije war nun, wie M. A.-O. zeigt, in der Art der viel kleineren 'Atiq 'Alî Dschami in Konstantinopel von 1497 gebaut . . ." ("Die Kunst der Islamischen Völker," Wildpark-Potsdam, 1927, pp. 104, 105).

We also find in an article by Prof. A. Gabriel: "D'après notre miniature on voit que l'édifice du XV^e siècle (Fâtîh Mosque), de même que Bayézid Dj., était précédé d'une cour carrée . . . Le tambour de la coupole centrale reposait sur un soubassement de plan carré ou s'accusaient, suivant les quatre faces, les formerets de la coupole. Deux nefs latérales, plus

basses, étaient couvertes de coupoles dont le nombre—à cause de la représentation géométrale—ne peut être fixé, mais dont la disposition devait correspondre, au moins dans l'ensemble, au plan de restitution proposé par M. A.-O." ("Les Etapes d'une Campagne dans les deux 'Irak d'après un manuscrit turc du XVI^e siècle," *Syria*, IX, 1928, p. 340).

Obviously Mr. Martinovitch did not pay any attention to the thesis which the writer discussed in both articles and which, as a matter of fact, is opposed to the opinions expressed in the *ocean of works which study the mosques of Constantinople and which all, without exception, find the same influence, i.e. Byzantine* (p. 289). On the same page he gives the names of the scholars Gurlitt, Glück, Diez and Wulzinger, saying that they *see also the same Greek influence and especially that of Agia Sophia*. The writer is extremely sorry to say that Mr. Martinovitch overlooked entirely the most important parts of the studies of these scholars in which they clearly define their opinions about Turkish architecture. To demonstrate this it is best to let these authorities speak for themselves.

Prof. E. Diez in the second edition of his *Die Kunst der Islamischen Völker* (1927) gives the following conclusion after a discussion of the Turkish-Ottoman architecture: "Erst mit dieser (Mosque of Bayazid II), nicht aber schon mit der Muhammedije hatte man die Raumgliederung und -spannung der Aja Sophia erreicht, jedoch nicht durch Nachahmung, sondern als Ergebnis einer eigenen, eben der türkischen Entwicklung. Wie aber vollzog sich diese? Ausgangspunkt waren die mitteltürkischen (seldschukischen) Moscheemedresen in Kleinasien mit offenem Hof oder überwölbtem Mittelraum, Qiblaîwân, seitlichen Zellen und Grabkuppelräumen, wie wir sie in Qonja kennen lernten. Aus diesen Grab-Kuppel-Moschee-Medresen, die als Moscheen, Lehranstalten

und Mausoleen dienten, entwickelten die osmanischen Türken durch zusammenfassende Gruppierung der Raumzellen um einen zentralen Kuppelraum, der so die Krönung eines grösseren Gesamtraumes wurde, die osmanische monumentale Kuppelmoschee" (*op. cit.*, p. 105).

Of the same opinion is Prof. H. Glück, who in his book *Die Kunst des Islam* (published with Prof. Diez), definitely states: "So ist diese Kunst ('Massive und Schwerfällige' frühosmanischer Kunst) bereits zu einem ausgeprägten Stil geworden, bevor die Türken den Boden Konstantinopels betraten. Zu glauben, sie wären als Barbaren mit leeren Händen gekommen, um im Handumdrehen eine Bauschöpfung wie die Sophienkirche nachahmen zu können, was die Byzantiner selbst durch Jahrhunderte nicht mehr vermochten, ist ein nur allzu häufiger Irrtum. Haben wir doch gesehen, wie gerade in der Baukunst seit der Seldschukenzeit eine konsequente Linie vor allem im Streben nach der Gestaltung eines einheitlichen Innenraumes aus eigenen Mitteln festzustellen ist . . ." (Berlin, 1925, p. 46).

Prof. K. Wulzinger is one of the first scholars who objected to the theory of dependence of Turkish architecture upon Byzantine. We bring here only two quotations from his works on the subject. In "Die Piruz-Moschee zu Milas," we read: "Die Abhängigkeit der Privatmoschee von dem byzantinischen Kirchenbau (insbesondere der Kreuzkuppelkirche) wurde bisher wohl etwas überschätzt. Ein direkter Zusammenhang, eine Ableitung der Neubauten von dem Vorbild christlicher Kirchen . . . ist nicht nachzuweisen" (*Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der Technischen Hochschule, Karlsruhe*, 1925, Sonderabdruck, p. 9). In his latest contribution to the historical study of the Fâtih mosque he defines the development of Turkish architecture with the following words: "Wir stehen heute besonders beim monumentalen

Moscheebau bereits klaren logischen Entwicklungsreihen gegenüber, die auf den Vorläufern seldschukischen Bauens fussend, nach dem Zwischenspiel der Emiratzeit und des frühen Osmanentums in Brussa und Nikäa unter vielseitiger Verflechtung zusammentreffen und zu der Glanzzeit auf europäischem Boden in Adrianopel und Constantinopel, zu den Werken Sinâns, emporsteigen" (*op. cit.*, *Byzantion*, pp. 7-8).

Mr. Martinovitch shares the opinion of Montani Efendi, the author of the text of *L'Architecture Ottomane*, published in 1873 by the order of Edhem Pasha: "That the real beginning of the Ottoman architecture took place in the time of Bayazid II," *i.e.* after the year 1481 A.D. Alas, are not the mosques of Brussa and Adrianople constructed before this date the monuments of Turkish architecture?

Finally comes a bitter attack when Mr. Martinovitch says: *Our author thinks that the Seljuq buildings in Asia Minor were made in the Turkish style. And what does he mean by the words "Turkish Style"? A Central Asian one? Perhaps; but it is known that the Turkish buildings of Asia minor were made under the Byzantine influence by Arabian and Armenian masters* (p. 290). In the preface of his book *The Turkish Theater*, however, he expressed a different view. There the Turks were labeled as the peoples *who profoundly influenced universal culture and who in all branches of art reached a high level of excellence. As examples of their architecture we have their buildings in Asia Minor, in the Balkan Peninsula, and in Constantinople* (New York, 1933, pp. 5-6); but in his paper in question the Turks are pictured as a nation without art and artist. Moreover, in the mentioned preface he was of the opinion that the literature of a people *sometimes falls under the influence of other nations and is even sometimes completely of foreign origin, nevertheless the creative power of a people digests all*

these elements and makes them a part of its own style (loc. cit.). If this is true with the literature why cannot it be true with the architecture? Yes, there is a Turkish style in Islamic Art but this question should not be discussed in connection with this reply to Mr. Martinovitch.

M. AGA-OGLU

MATERIAL FOR A DICTIONARY OF
ISLAMIC ARTISTS

In the section entitled *Notes* of Volume II (1935), p. 135, the Research Seminary in Islamic Art announced the initiation of a *Dictionary of Islamic Artists* to be published under the editorship of Dr. Ernst Kühnel, Dr. Gaston Wiet and Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu.

Since the preparation of such an extensive work requires the cooperation of many students during a period of several years, the editors have decided to publish regularly the material assembled in the Research Seminary in a special section of this journal. The material will be of a preliminary nature, thus providing a possibility for additions, corrections and revisions, and will appear in its final form in a classified order in the *Dictionary of Islamic Artists*.

This special section of *Ars Islamica* will contain separate articles on artists without consideration of alphabetical arrangement or classification according to their special fields.

The forthcoming Part 2 of Volume III will contain such a section under the general title *Preliminary Material for a Dictionary of Islamic Artists*.

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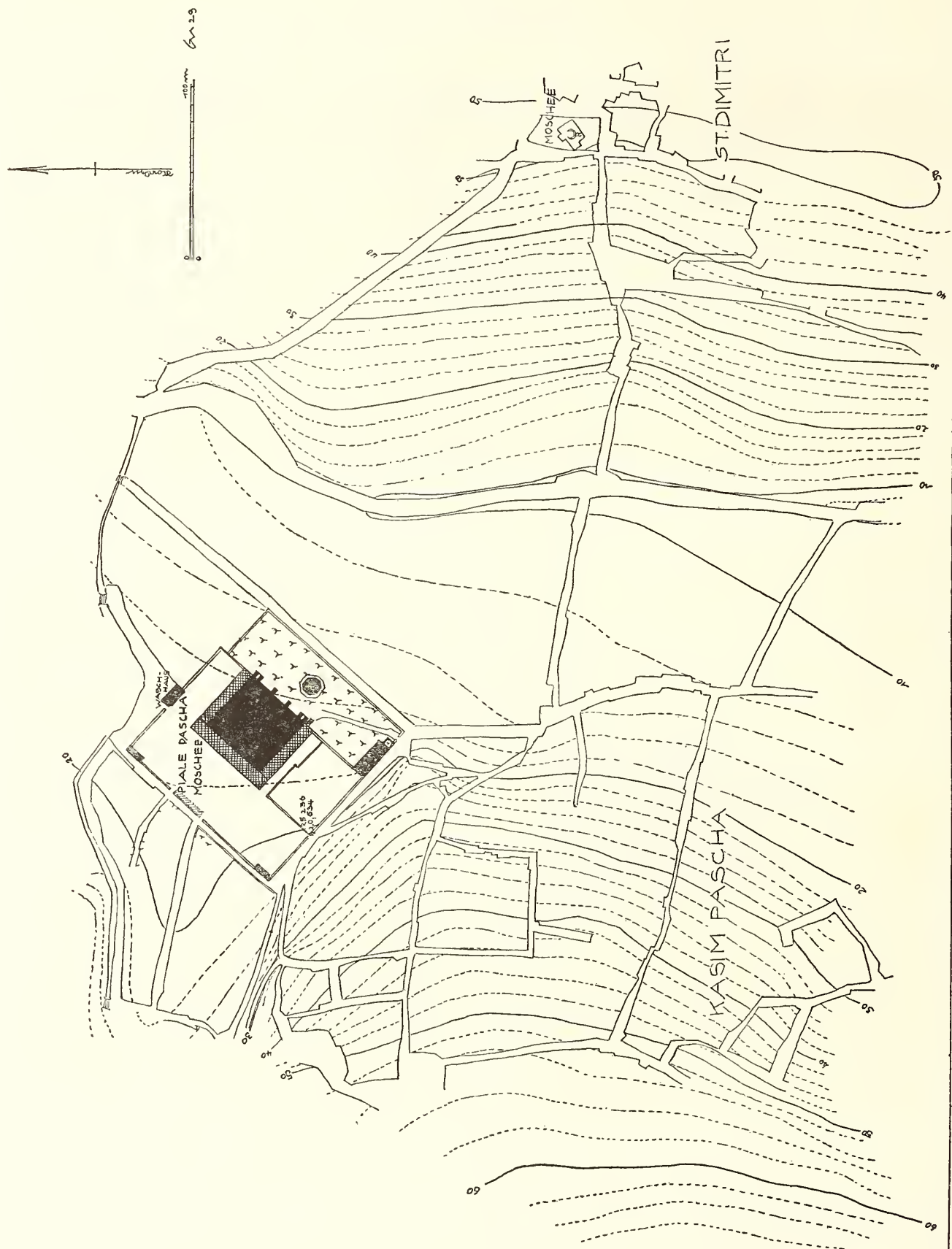


FIG. 1—LAGEPLAN DER PIVALE PASCHA MOSCHEE

EINLEITUNG

UNTER DEN GROSSEN MOSCHEEN ISTANBULS NIMMT DIE PIYALE PASHA-MOSCHEE EINE GANZ besondere Stellung ein. Sie weicht mit ihren sechs gleich grossen Kuppeln und ihrem Minäre in Achse des Mihrāb von den bekannten grossen, fast ausschliesslich im Einkuppelsystem erbauten Moscheen stark ab (*Fig. 13*).

Die Moschee liegt am Nordrande der Stadtteils Kāsım Pasha in einem Tale, das sich nach dem Goldenen Horn hin nach Süden öffnet. Vom Goldenen Horn aus ist sie zu Fuss in etwa 20 Minuten zu erreichen. Obgleich dieser Bau infolge seiner Besonderheit schon oft in der Literatur angeführt worden ist und von Gurlitt in Plan und Bild veröffentlicht wurde,² blieb er bisher doch wenig beachtet. Lange vernachlässigt und halb verfallen, ist sie 1930 gereinigt und wiederhergestellt worden, doch leider nicht ganz ohne Eingriffe in den alten Baubestand.

Trotz der Erwähnung in der Fachliteratur wird keine der älteren Beschreibungen ihrer Besonderheit völlig gerecht, sodass es lohnt, sich mit diesem bedeutenden Werk osmanischer Baukunst zu befassen.

BAUBESCHREIBUNG

DIE LAGE DER MOSCHEE

Die Lage einer Moschee ist bekanntlich von der vorgeschriebenen Richtung nach Mekka bestimmt. Die Kibla weist in Istanbul fast genau nach Südosten. Südosten wird so zur Rückseite der Moschee, wo kein Eingang angeordnet werden kann. Diese Gesichtspunkte sind auch für die Planung unserer Moschee massgebend gewesen (*Fig. 1*).

Als der Grossadmiral des Sultān Selīm II. Piyale Pasha sich dazu entschloss, eine Volksmoschee zu bauen (1573 s. u. S. 165), benützte er als geeigneten Bauplatz eine Taler-

¹ Im Frühjahr 1929 und im Sommer 1935 hatte ich Gelegenheit, als Forschungsstipendiat an der Abteilung Istanbul des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes zu weilen, wobei es mir ermöglicht wurde, die Piyale Pasha-Moschee in Kāsım Pasha zu bearbeiten und aufzumessen. Ich konnte diese Arbeiten auf Anregung und mit Unterstützung der Abteilung Istanbul durchführen. Die Arbeit wurde durch das besondere Entgegenkommen des damaligen Generaldirektors der Türkischen Museen in Istanbul, Herrn Dr. Halil Etem, und durch den derzeitigen Generaldirektor Dr. Aziz Ogan, ausserordentlich gefördert, ebenso durch die Evkaf-Verwaltung, Herrn Said Bey. Herr Dr. Paul Wittek hat die türkischen Berichte in Übersetzung beige-steuert. Allen Genannten spreche ich hiermit meinen verbindlichsten Dank aus.

Die photographischen Abbildungen *Fig. 13, 17–20, 23–30 und 33* sind im Auftrage des Institutes von dem Photographen Sender, Istanbul, angefertigt worden, die Abbildung 13 stammt aus Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Berlin, 1912, Taf. 137.

² C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Berlin, 1912, Textb. S. 80–81 u. Band II, Taf. CXXXVII, CXXXVIII, CXXXIX. A. Gabriel, "Les Mosquées de Constantinople," *Syria*, VII. Paris, 1926, S. 385–386. K. Wulzinger, *Die Pirus-Moschee in Milas*, Karlsruhe, 1925. J. v. Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphoros*, Pesth, 1822, Bd. II. S. 68–69. E. A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, London, 1895, Vol. II. S. 672–673. Halil Etem, *Camilerimiz*, Istanbul, 1932, S. 63–65, Abb. 41, 45.

weiterung am Anfang des Ḳasım Pasha Tales, die zu seinem Grund und Boden gehörte (s. u. S. 165).

DER GRUNDRISS

Der von einer Mauer umfriedete Bezirk der Moschee ist nahezu quadratisch (117 m auf 114 m); fast genau in seiner Mitte liegt die grosse Volksmoschee, die ein Rechteck von 55 m auf 45 m einschliesslich der Strebepfeiler bildet (Plan *Fig. 2*).

Der eigentliche Betraum ist ein sechskuppeliger Breitraum von 30,50 m Breite und 19,70 m Tiefe, dessen sechs Kuppeln in der Mitte von zwei hohen Säulen gestützt werden. Die kuppeltragenden Pfeiler sind durch die Lage der Wände zum Teil in den Raum einbezogen, zum Teil (an der Ḳibla-Seite) ragen sie nach aussen heraus. Auf diese Weise entstehen an den Schmalseiten und an der Eingangsseite liwanartige Erweiterungen, in die Emporen eingebaut sind. An die Wand des Mitelliwans der Eingangsseite ist das einzige Minäre gestellt und innen und aussen sichtbar. Vor diesem, im Moscheeinneren, liegt die Mu'adhdhin-Galerie, die über den Liwan hinaus in den Betsaal hineinreicht. Der Breitraum ist im Zuge der beiden seitlichen Kuppelachsen durch lange Vorhallen hindurch zugänglich, die zwischen Versteifungsbögen der Kuppelkonstruktion angeordnet sind. Die Portale sind in die Mitte der Seitenliwane gestellt, sodass vor und auch hinter den Portalen Nischen entstehen. In den Gebäudeecken am Hof sind zwischen den Eckpfeilern der Kuppelkonstruktion die Emporentreppen eingebaut, die von aussen zugänglich sind. Zu beiden Seiten der Moschee liegen Arkadengänge mit gedeckten Balkonen. Zwischen den Eingangshallen vor dem Minäre liegt eine diesen ähnliche Halle mit einem Mihrāb, vor dem ein Baldachin, von vier Säulen gestützt, steht. Vor die zwei Eingangshallen und die Mihrābhalle legt sich eine weitere breite Säulenhalle auf 22 Säulen.

DIE FRONTEN

Die Grundrissgestaltung bestimmt die Fassadengliederung, da nichts hinter Blendwerk verborgen wird und jede tektonische Gliederung auf diese Weise sichtbar bleibt.

Die Eingangsfront (*Fig. 14* und Plan *Fig. 4*). Die breitgelagerte Eingangsfront wird besonders hervorgehoben durch die beiden hintereinander liegenden, zuletzt mit Ziegeln gedeckten ursprünglich wohl aber mit Bleiplatten belegten Dächern,³ die von den drei Liwanbögen und den Halbkugelnkuppeln überragt werden. Die durch die seitlichen Arkadengänge besonders breitgelagerte Front wird durch das Minäre in der Mittelachse zusammengehalten. Die Zugänge sind von aussen nur angedeutet. Die Interkolumnen der Hallensäulen sind vor den Portalen ebenso wie vor dem Minäre grösser als die übrigen Kolumnen der Säulenhalle. Die Ecktreppenhäuser zu den Emporen sind nicht in die Dachhaut der Moschee einbezogen. Sie haben ihre eignen kleinen Kuppeln. Die Bögen der Liwangewölbe, der Moscheefenster und der Säulenhalle sind spitzböig. An Stelle der hohen Mittelfenster der Seitenliwane

³ Gurlitt bringt 2 Abbildungen, wo die Dächer noch im Stand sind (*Fig. 13*).

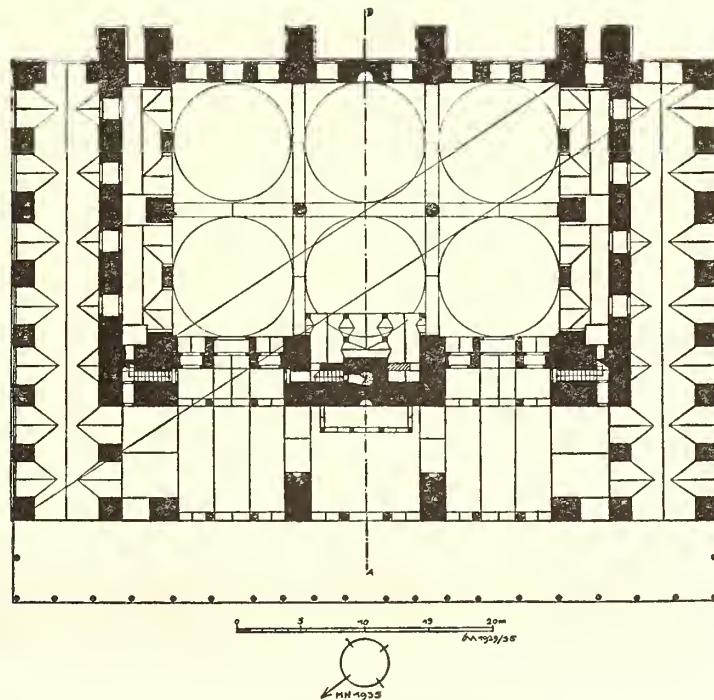


FIG. 2—GRUNDRISS DER MOSCHEE

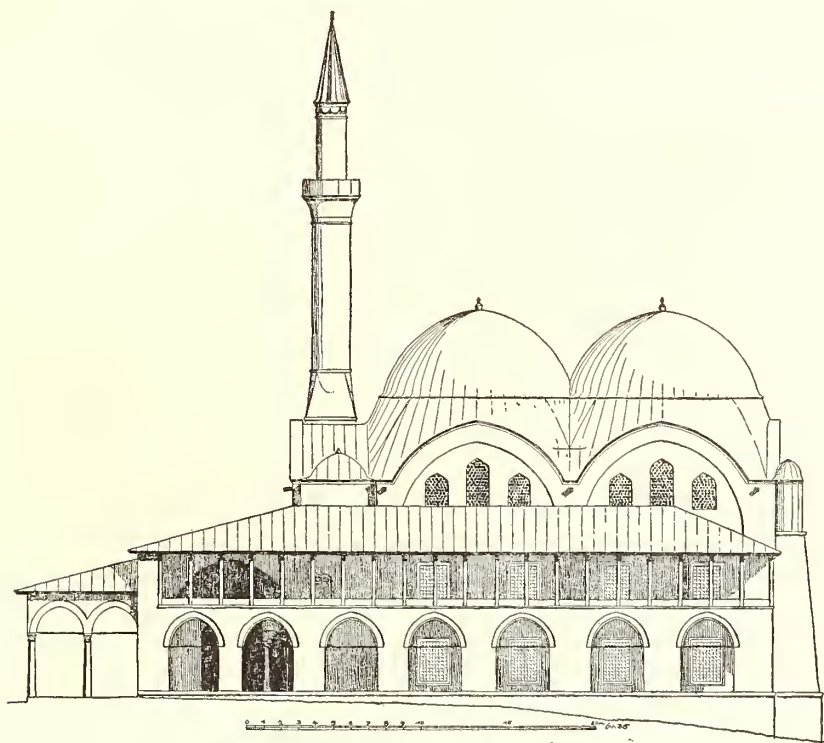


FIG. 3—SEITENFRONT, REKONSTRUIERT

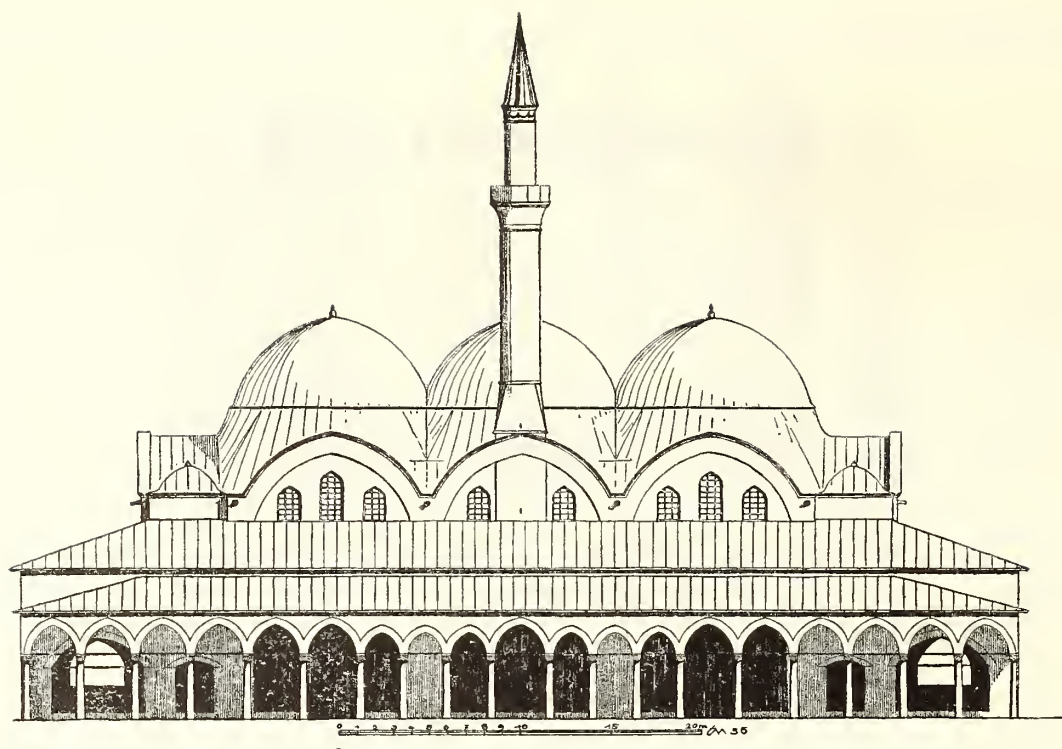


FIG. 4—EINGANGSFRONT, REKONSTRUIERT

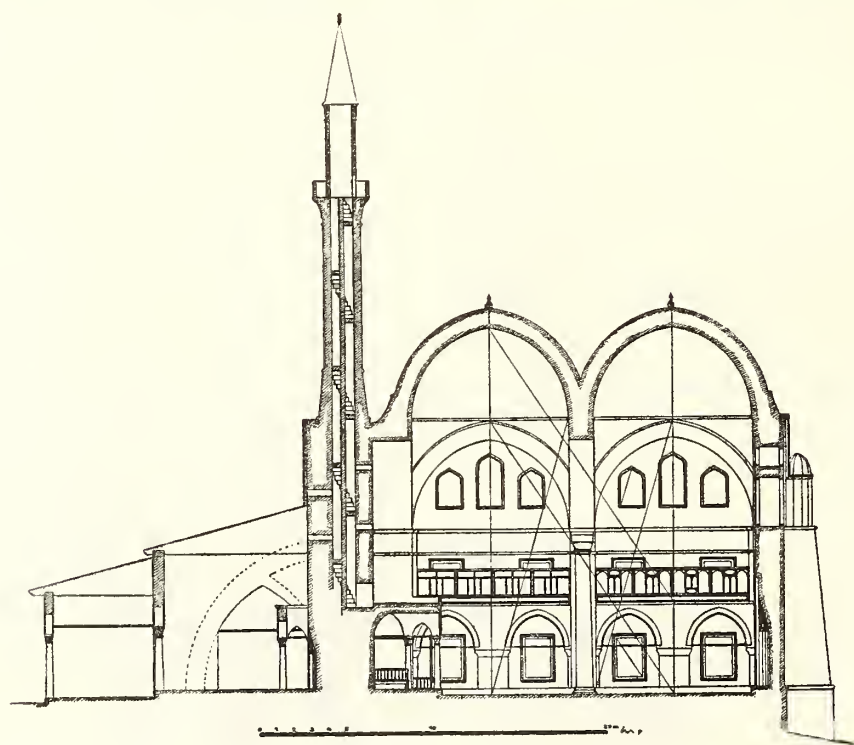


FIG. 5—SCHNITT DURCH DIE MOSCHEE

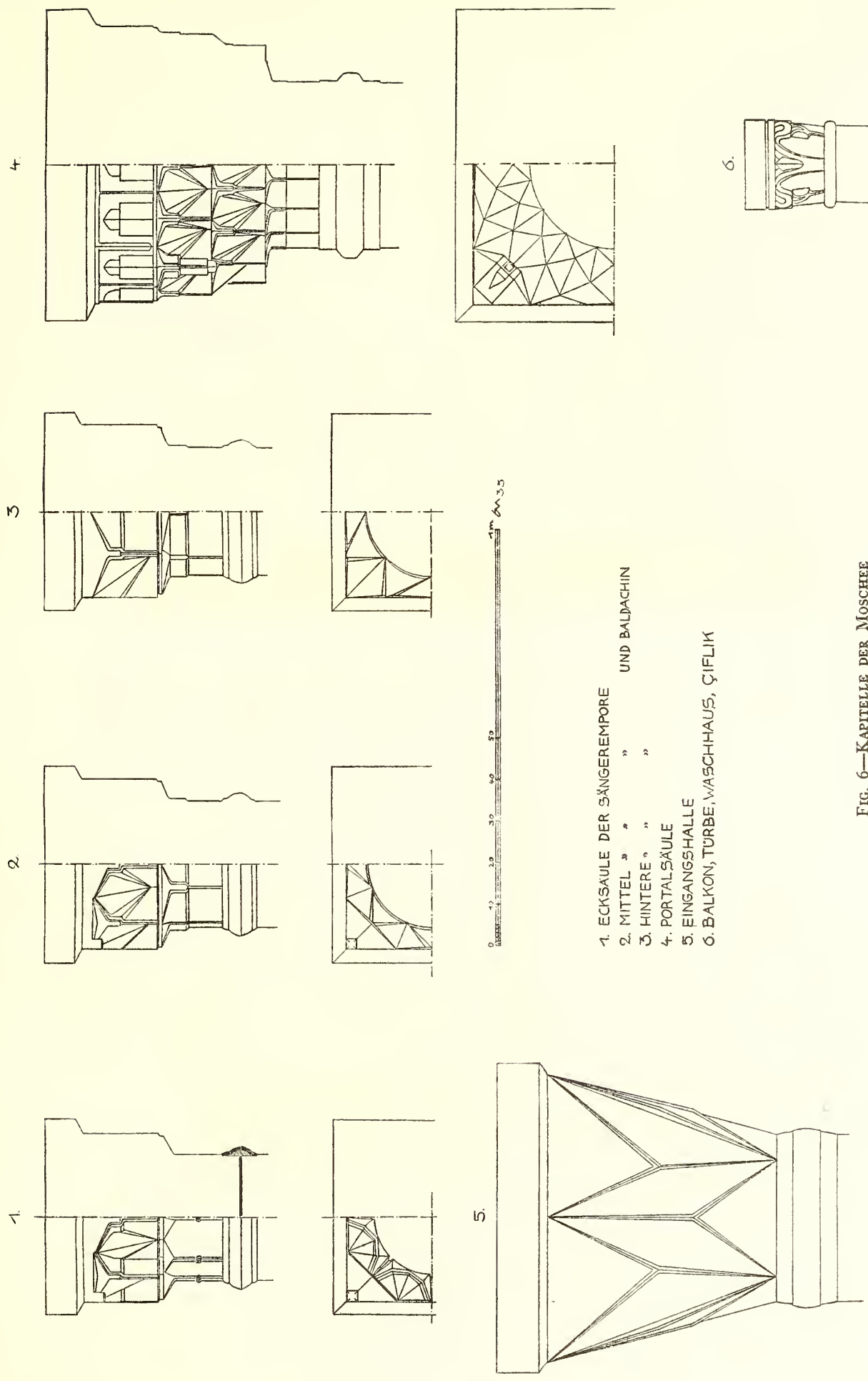


FIG. 6—KAPITELLE DER MOSCHEE

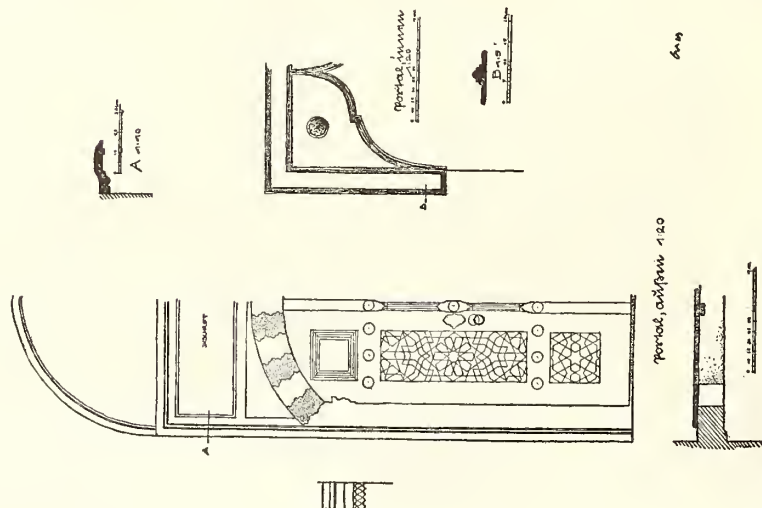


FIG. 7—PORTAL

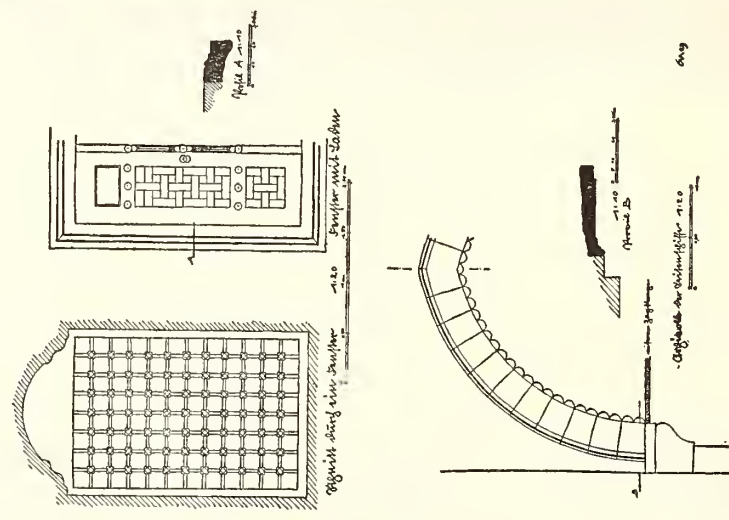


FIG. 8—FENSTER UND ARKADENBOGEN
UNTER DEN SEITENEMPOREN

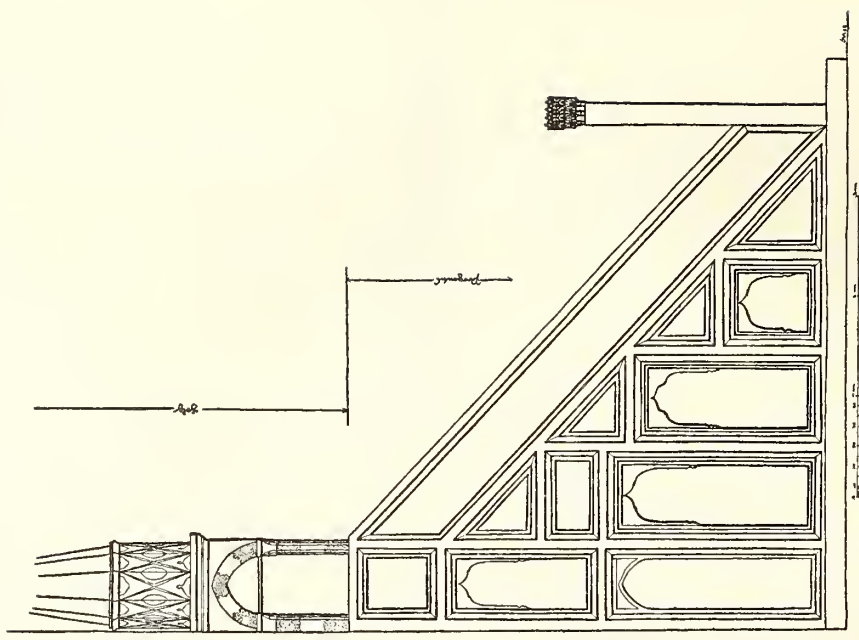


FIG. 9—MINBER

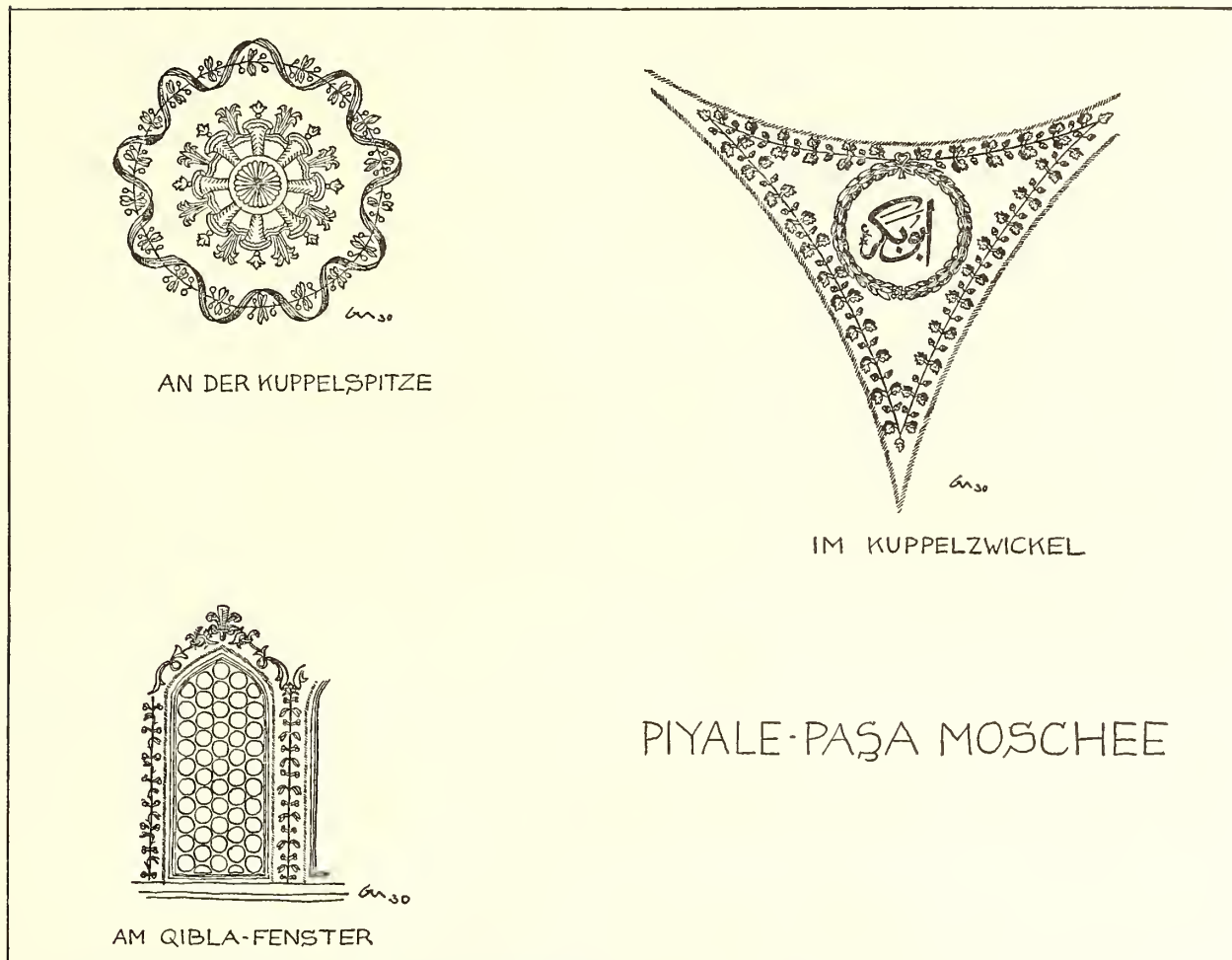


FIG. 10—MALEREIEN IN DER MOSCHEE

tritt in der Mitte risalitartig das Minäre vor die Wand, aber nicht vor den Liwanbogen.

Die Seitenfronten (Fig. 15 und Plan Fig. 3). Die Seitenfronten sind im Gegensatz zu der Eingangsfront unsymmetrisch, doch ist eine innere Spannung in den Fassaden vorhanden, die wesentlich durch das Zusammenwirken mit dem Minäre entsteht. Der eigentliche Betraum tritt nur in seinem oberen Teile in den beiden seitlichen Liwanbögen in Erscheinung. Das Dach der davor liegenden Arkaden und Balkone greift an der Nordwestseite des Gebäudes herum, nicht aber an der Kiblasteite, da hier keine Anbauten vorhanden sind. Es entsteht so eine Schiefe in der Fassade, die noch durch die Säulenvorhalle, die sich an die Eingangsfassade anlehnt, gesteigert wird. Sieben Arkadenbögen tragen die 21 Säulen der Balkone. Die Vorhalle ist an der Seitenfront zweijochig. Die von den grauen Halbkuppeln überspannten Liwanbögen sind durch drei Spitzbogenfenster gegliedert, deren mittelstes

höher hinauf reicht. Der kleinen Treppenkuppel entspricht die Zierkuppel auf dem sich nach oben verjüngenden äusseren Strebepfeiler, der an der Kiblaste aussen sichtbar ist.

Die Kiblaste (Fig. 16). Die Kiblaste nach dem Friedhofe zu wird charakterisiert durch die sechs sichtbaren Strebepfeiler, welche die Front in drei gleichgrosse Flächen aufteilen. Je zwei der Strebepfeiler stehen an den Gebäudeecken nebeneinander. Alle verjüngen sich gleichmässig nach oben. In Kämpferhöhe der kuppeltragenden Spitzbögen läuft um die Strebepfeiler ein simaartiges Wulst Gesims (Fig. 16), auf dem Polygone stehen. Sie reichen bis zu den profilierten Gesimsen der Liwanbögen und nehmen diese Gesimse horizontal auf. Über den Gesimsen sitzen kleine bleigedachte Kuppeldächer. Die Pfeiler sind organisch mit dem Bauganzen verbunden und nicht später vorgesetzt. Die grossen Schildwände, die zwischen die Pfeiler gespannt sind, sind nur in den Bogenfeldern gleichmässig gegliedert. Hier durchbrechen je fünf Spitzbogenfenster, von denen immer das mittlere höher als die vier anderen hinaufreicht, die Wände. Die Sohlbänke der Fenster befinden sich knapp über der Kämpferhöhe der Bögen. Über diesen Fenstern liegen je drei runde Fenster, von denen das mittlere höher angeordnet ist. Die unteren Wandflächen der zwei seitlichen Schildwände werden durch zwei Reihen von je drei Fenstern gegliedert. Die unterste von ihnen hat vergitterte rechteckige Fenster mit darüber befindlichen spitzbögigen Blendbögen, die obere Reihe besteht aus Spitzbogenfenstern.

Das Mittelfeld hat in jeder Reihe zwei Fenster, die achsial übereinander angeordnet sind. In der Mitte bleibt eine grosse Fläche ungegliedert, dort wo sich im Innern die Gebetsnische befindet. In Höhe des Moscheehofniveaus zieht sich an den Schmalseiten unter den Arkaden und an der Kiblaste ein breites Wulstband hin, über dem die Frontfluchten zurückspringen.

DAS INNERE (Fig. 21, 22 und Plan Fig. 5)

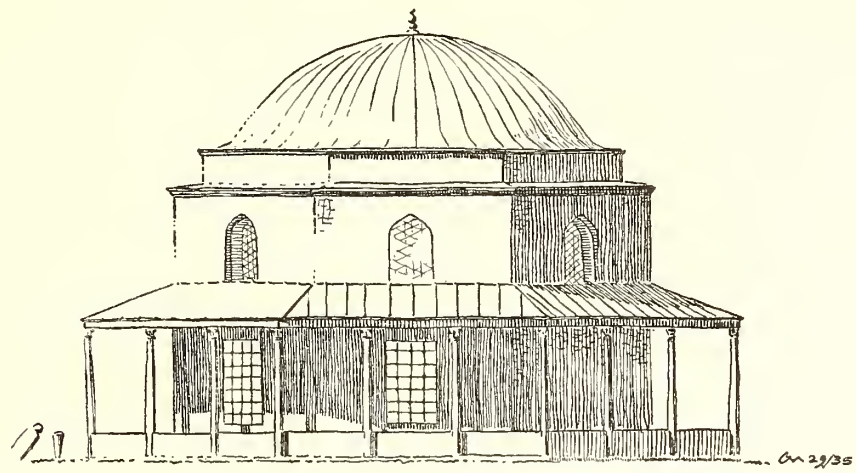
Das Innere der Piyale Pasha-Moschee wird durch die Konstruktionselemente des Kuppeldaches bestimmt. Der Raum wird aus den Pfeilern und Säulen mit ihren Bögen, auf denen die Kuppeln ruhen, und aus den Wänden zwischen den Pfeilern und schliesslich aus den Kuppeln selbst gebildet.

Die Wände sind als Raumabschluss zwischen die Konstruktion gespannt, ohne eine tragende Aufgabe zu haben. Sie sind trotzdem von beträchtlicher Stärke (ca. 1,65 m).

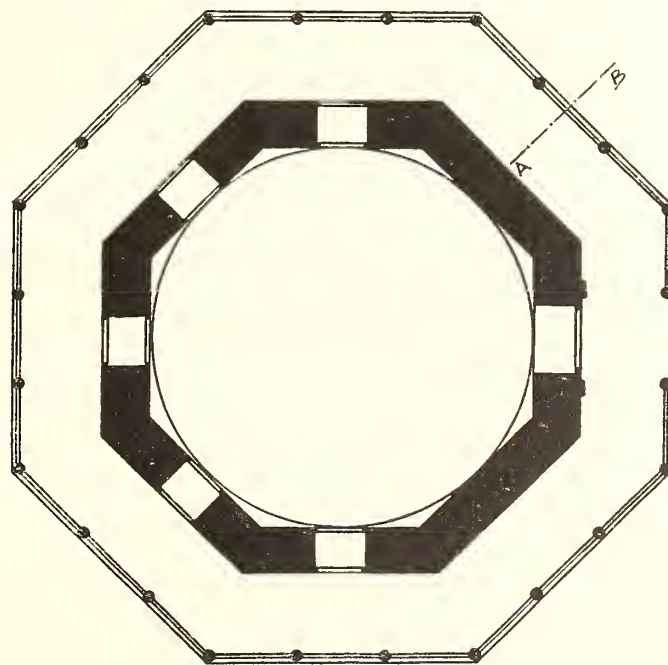
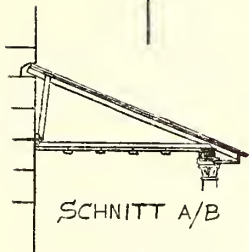
Die sechs gleichgrossen Spitzbogenkuppeln, die sämtlich in gleicher Höhe liegen, verhindern jede Zentralwirkung. Sie sind abweichend von der Anlage anderer Sechskuppelbauten (etwa Zindjirli Köyü Moschee in Istanbul⁴ oder die Moschee al-Khulafā in Baghdād⁵) sehr hoch angeordnet, indem hier die Pfeiler der Mittelstützen durch schlanke Säulen ersetzt sind, sodass der grosse und hohe Raum durch sie nicht beeinträchtigt wird. Wie schon erwähnt (s. o. S. 132), bekommt der Raum seine Gliederung vor allem durch die verschiedene

⁴ C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Berlin, 1912, Bd. II, Taf. XCII, 15 c.

⁵ Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, Bd. II, S. 159.



NO·ANSICHT



0 1 2 3 4 5 10m Ln 29/35

FIG. 11—TÜRBE DES PIVALE PAŞHA

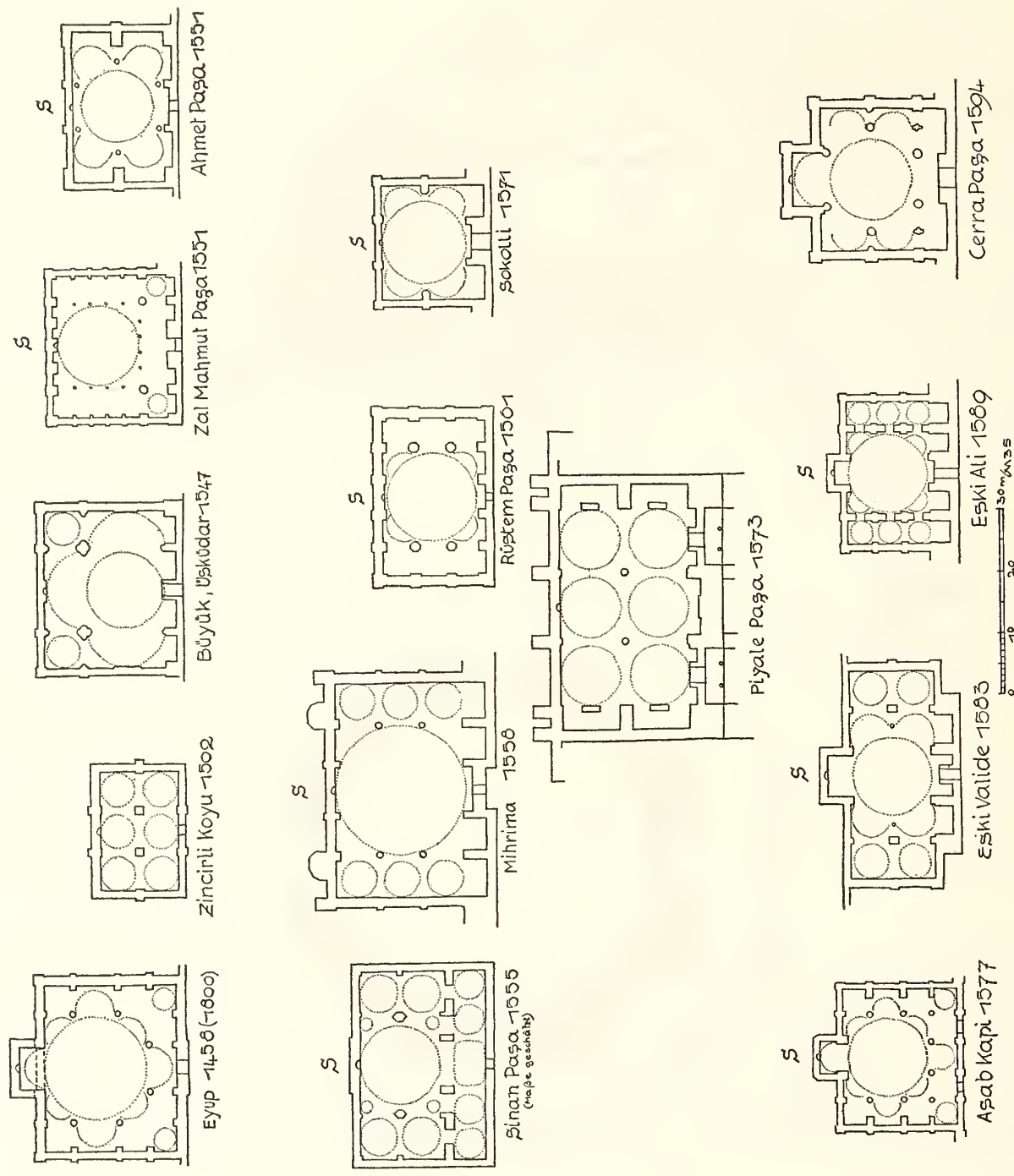


FIG. 12—BREITRÄUMIGE MOSCHEEN DES XVI. JAHRH.
S = SINAN

Anordnung der Wände zwischen den Pfeilern. Die Kiblawände sind ganz hereingezogen, sodass die Pfeiler nur als schmale Pilaster in Erscheinung treten. An den Schmalseiten und an der Hoffront werden, entgegen der ersten Anordnung, die Wände möglichst weit nach aussen gelegt, sodass fast 4,00 m tiefe liwanartige Nischen entstehen. In diesen mit Spitztonnen überwölbten Liwanen liegen Emporen.

DIE STÜTZEN

Die Pfeiler (Fig. 21, 27). Die Pfeiler, vierzehn an der Zahl, sind etwa 2,00 m breit und 5,00 m tief und bis zum Kämpfer (Oberkante des Schriftbandes) 9,50 m hoch. Die Eckpfeiler sind an den Ecken der Eingangsfront im rechten Winkel zueinander gestellt. An den Gebäudeecken der Kibla stehen sie nebeneinander. Alle Pfeiler sind aus grossen Kalksteinblöcken aufgemauert und verputzt. Nur die Kiblapfeiler bleiben ungeputzt (s. u. S. 158, Fig. 16).

Die Wände der Portale und der Emporen an den Schmalseiten treten nur um wenig hinter die Pfeiler zurück. Die Schildwände der Kibla liegen ebenfalls nur wenig hinter den Pfeilerstirnseiten. So wird erreicht, dass die Eingangswand und die Seitenwände im Erdgeschoss die gleichen Pilasterwirkungen aufweisen wie die Kiblawand. Die Pfeiler werden in ihrer Grösse und Schwere erst über den Balustraden der Emporen sichtbar. Auf diese Weise wird der einheitliche Raumeindruck des Moscheeraumes, den die tiefen Liwane zu zerstören drohen, gewahrt. Die Pfeiler der Eingangsfront sind aussen verstrebt (Fig. 17 und Plan Fig. 5). In Kämpferhöhe setzen in der Breite der Pfeiler die Strebebögen an. Sie sind aus Backsteinen gemauert in einem Querschnitt von etwa 1,00 m Höhe und 2,00 m Breite und setzen 6,00 m entfernt vom Pfeiler auf dem Boden auf. In einer Entfernung von 2,50 m vom Ansatz am Pfeiler beginnt am Strebebogen ein kleiner nur 65 cm hoher Bogen, der zum Pfeiler zurückläuft. Der entstehende Zwickel ist mit Backsteinen zugesetzt. Der Strebebogen ist in ganzer Höhe durch unregelmässiges Füllmauerwerk belastet. Aussen am Bogen steht ein aus Qaudern gemauerter Pfeiler von 2,00 m Breite, um durch sein Gewicht dem seitlichen Schub zu wehren. Der Bogen wird bis zu 3,00 m Höhe von Quadermauerwerk unterfangen.

Der Baumeister hat anscheinend einen gefährlichen Schub nach aussen gefürchtet, der durch die Kuppellast auftreten könnte, oder aber dieser Schub hatte sich schon während des Bauens bemerkbar gemacht. Die Strebebögen sind aber gleichzeitig mit der Gesamtanlage entstanden, wie der Mauerverband zeigt (Fig. 17).

Die Mittelstützen. Die sechs gleichgrossen und gleich hoch gelagerten Kuppeln werden in der Mitte von zwei hohen schlanken Säulen getragen, die an der Stelle der sonst üblichen Pfeiler der Mehrkuppelbauten treten (Fig. 22, 25). Durch ihre Schlankheit verändern sie nicht das Gesamtraumbild, das einheitlich gewahrt bleibt. Die Säulen sind überaus schlank gebildet (die Verhältniszahlen unserer Moschee werden unten in einem gesonderten Kapitel behandelt). Eine Basis von grosser Breite und geringer Höhe ist um die Säule herum gelegt. Das Kapitell ist 1,40 m hoch und sehr sparsam in seiner Gliederung

(Fig. 25). Es besteht aus einem oberen quadratischen, senkrechten Abakus, über dem ein Wulstgesims sitzt. Der Echinus besteht aus einem regelmässigen Konus, dessen oberer Durchmesser vom Abakus und dessen unterer von dem Durchmesser des Säulenhalses abhängig ist. Hier leitet ein dicker Wulstring zum Schaft über. Über diesem liegt der in Istanbul übliche Bronzering, der die zwischengeschaltete Bleiplatte verdeckt, die in dem erdbebenreichen Istanbul als statisches Gelenk gedacht ist. An den Ecken zwischen Abakus und Echinus sind bauchige Zwickel angebracht. Gurlitt vermutet, dass diese Kapitelle nicht fertig ausgeführt sind.⁶ Aus dieser Anlage lassen sich kaum noch vierstufige Muğarnaskapitelle bilden. Der gesamte Bau ist so einheitlich zu Ende geführt, dass wir auch hier annehmen müssen, dass diese Kapitellform von dem Baumeister als endgültige Form gewollt war, besonders da diese Kapitellform als erhabenste Säulenordnung der türkischen Baukunst gilt.⁷

DIE KUPPELKONSTRUKTION (Plan Fig. 5 und Fig. 22, 25)

Die Gurtbögen. Über den Pfeilern und Säulen erheben sich die spitzen Gurtbögen, auf denen die Halbkugelhäupten aufliegen. Die Scheitelhöhe der Bögen beträgt 5,10 m, die Gurtbogendicke im Scheitel 1,20 m. Die Bögen sind mit Backsteinen gemauert und verputzt und jetzt in Quaderteilung bemalt. Es sind 17 derartige Bögen vorhanden, von denen 7 doppelseitig von den Kuppeln beansprucht werden, d. h. diese 7 ruhen mit einem Fuss auf den zwei Mittelstützen. Sieben der anderen Bögen sind zu Tonnen erweitert und überspannen die Liwane. Drei Bögen liegen in der Kiblawand.

DIE WÄNDE

Die Wände, die bei unserer Moschee nicht tragen, schliessen den Innenraum nach aussen ab. Sie sind an allen vier Seiten zwischen die Pfeiler und die kuppeltragenden Gurtbögen gespannt, sodass sie sich in zehn Schildwände teilen. Sie liegen in den Seitenfronten und in der Hoffront an den Aussenseiten der Pfeiler. In der Kiblaseite befinden sie sich innen am Pfeiler. Auf diese Weise wird erreicht, dass die nach Mekka weisende Wand fast ungegliedert in ganzer Länge und Höhe des Betraumes als eine Fläche erscheint, um so dem altherkommenen Brauch einer langen Kiblawand zu genügen. Die anderen Seiten des Betraumes sind durch die Lage der Wände stark gegliedert. Trotzdem die Wände nicht tragen, sind sie 1,65 m dick. Die Mitte der nach Mekka weisenden Wand ist durch das hohe Mihrāb, die Gebetsnische, unterbrochen. Rings um den ganzen Raum läuft in Kämpferhöhe der Gurtbögen ein Inschriftband aus blauen Fliesen dass einschliesslich der rahmenden Wulste etwa 1,00 m misst (Fig. 22, 27). Die Kiblawand ist aus den Schildwänden der drei Joche gebildet. Drei Fenster nebeneinander teilen die Mauerflächen (Fig. 16). In der mittelsten ersetzt das Mihrāb die Mittelfenster, die im Erdgeschoss einen senkrechten Sturz haben, und im Obergeschoss spitzbogig sind. Über dem Schriftband ist von der Dreiteilung

⁶ C. Gurlitt, *a.a.O.*, S. 80.

⁷ Edhem Pascha, *Die ottomanische Baukunst*, Constantinople, 1873, S. 11 f.



FIG. 13—DIE MOSCHEE IM JAHRE 1905

AUFN. GURLITT



FIG. 14—DIE MOSCHEE VON NORDEN

AUFN. MARTINY



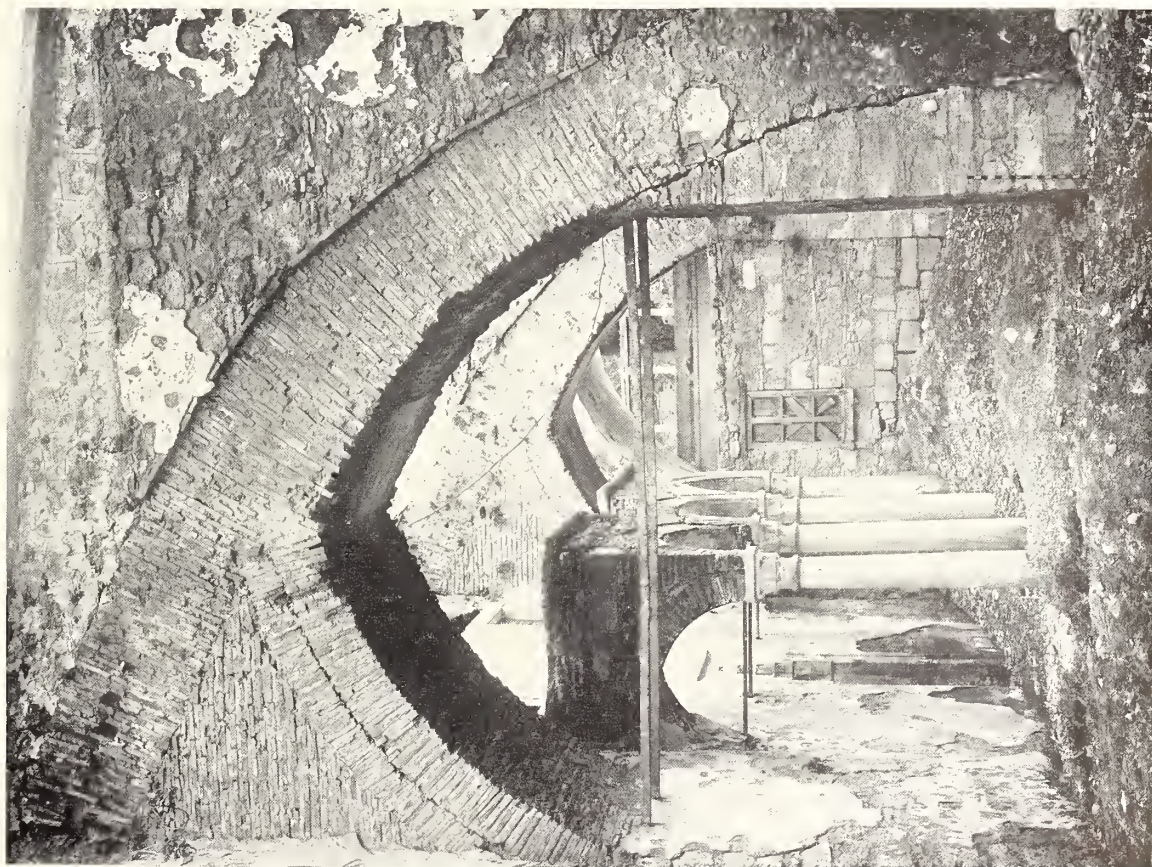
FIG. 15—NORDÖSTLICHE SEITENFRONT

AUFN. MARTINY



FIG. 16—KIBLA FRONT VON OSTEN

AUFN. MARTINY



AUFN. SENDER

FIG. 17—STREBEBOGEN UND BALDACHIN



AUFN. SENDER

FIG. 18—VORBAU AM NÖRDLICHEN PORTAL



AUFN. SENDER

FIG. 19—AUSSEN-MIHRĀB MIT BALDACHIN



AUFN. SENDER

FIG. 20—ARKADENBOGEN

abgewichen und zu einer Teilung durch fünf Fenster übergegangen worden. Über diesen liegen drei Rundfenster, von denen das mittlere höher liegt als die seitlichen. An den Emporenseiten ist eine andere Gliederung der Liwanwände durch die Fensteröffnungen vorgenommen worden. Die Seitenwände erhalten unter den Emporen und in Höhe der Emporen je zwei scheidrechte Fenster; über dem Schriftband sitzen je drei Fenster von verschiedener Höhe, das mittlere reicht höher in die Bögen hinauf (*Fig. 22, 27*).

Die Fensteraufteilung der Eingangsemporenwand ist über dem Schriftband denen der Seitenwände gleich. Einen Unterschied macht die mittlere Liwanwand, da hier das Minäre in den Liwan hineinragt. In den zwei Seitenliwanen der Eingangsfront sind im unteren Geschoss die Portale mit zwei Fenstern zur Seite eingebaut, über denen eine Mittelwand eingespannt ist, hinter der die Treppenläufe zu den oberen Emporen liegen (*Fig. 21*). Vor der Mittelwand steht auf sechs schlanken Säulen die Sängerempore (*Fig. 30*).

Die Wände sind, soweit sie verputzt sind, in der von den Byzantinern hergekommenen Weise aufgemauert. Hausteinschichten werden mit schmalen Backsteinschichten durchsetzt doch ist hier keine strenge Regelmässigkeit zu beobachten. Die Kiblawände und an den anderen Fronten die Wände zwischen den Liwanbögen bestehen aus sauber gefügten Kalkstein.

DIE NISCHEN

Der notwendigste Einbau in die Wandfläche ist die Gebetnische (*Fig. 23, 24*). Sie ist eine einfache muldenförmige Vertiefung der Oberfläche der Wand, die auf der Aussen-seite der Mauer nicht in Erscheinung tritt. Die Nische ist durch eine flache Stufe aus dem Niveau des Fussbodens herausgehoben. In einer hohen flachen Nische mit einem Spitzbogen liegt die zweite polygone Nische, die aus sieben Seiten eines regelmässigen Zwölfecks gebildet und mit einem Muqarnasgewölbe gekrönt ist.

Unter dem Minäre in der Mitte der Hoffront befindet sich in der mittleren Halle der drei durch Strebebögen gebildeten Vorhallen eine weitere kleinere Gebetsnische aus Marmor. Ein auf Säulen ruhender dreibogiger Baldachin schützt sie (*Fig. 19*). Sie ist gleichzeitig mit der Gesamtanlage, wie der Baubefund erkennen lässt. Der Aussenmihrāb ist wie üblich angelegt, um bei grossem Andrang an den Festen der Muhammedaner den nicht mehr im Inneren Platz findenden Gläubigen und vor allem den Frauen die Richtung zu weisen. Ähnlich dem grossen Mihrāb ist dieser von einem Muqarnasgewölbe überwölbt. Die an den beiden Gebetsnischen vorkommenden Muqarnasgewölbe sind die einzigen in unserer Moschee. Sie bringen in ihren Formen nichts Neues für den türkischen Kulturkreis, sondern fügen sich vielmehr in die Reihe der Muqarnasgewölbe der anderen Bauten Istanbuls ein. Das Muqarnasgewölbe des inneren Mihrābs besteht aus 7 Stufen und hat an der Unterkante der dritten Stufe 7 Stalaktiden. Das nur sechsstufige äussere Muqarnasgewölbe weist gar keine Stalaktiden auf. Die Stufen aus kielbögigen Faltdflächen bestehen. Die Nische im Innern, aus sieben Seiten eines regelmässigen Zwölfecks gebildet, hat infolge der Verwendung von Keramik durch die Knetbarkeit des Materials mehr runde Formen. Die Kielbögen und

Pyramiden des Marmor-Mihrābs sind dagegen hart und scharfkantig, so wie sie unter dem Werkzeug des Steinmetzen entstehen. Das Muḳarnasgewölbe des Aussen-Mihrābs ist aus drei gleichgrossen, grauen Marmorblöcken, die übereinander liegen, gebildet. Jeder Block nimmt zwei Prismenstufen auf. Alle drei bilden zusammen eine ebene Schaufläche und treten knapp vor die ebenfalls sieben Seiten des aus einem Zwölfeck gebildeten Mihrābs.

DIE PORTALE (Plan *Fig. 7* und *Fig. 18, 28*)

Zwei an Bedeutung gleichartige Portale in den Achsen der Seitenkuppeln stellen die Verbindung nach Aussen her. Auf das grosse Mittelportal, das in der Regel angeordnet wird und immer besonders ins Auge fallend ausgebildet ist, ist hier verzichtet worden (das gleiche bei Aiwan Efendi *Djāmi'*, Azapkapu *Djāmi'* und Cherisi Pasha *Djāmi'*). Von aussen ist überhaupt kaum erkenntlich, wo wohl der Zugang zum Betsaal ist (s. o. S. 132). Die Portale bilden 2,60 m breite und 1,10 m tiefe Nischen mit Spitztonnen und Höhen von (im Scheitel gemessen) 5,80 m. Sie haben innen in den Ecken Profile in Form einer Platte und eines Kymations. Diese Profile biegen in Kämpferhöhe horizontal um. Das Gewände der Portaltüren ist aus einem einzigen Marmorblock gebildet, der ein gut geformtes Kämpfergesims hat, das aber nur an den Leibungsflächen sitzt, sodass die Schnittfläche in der Front sichtbar wird. Das südwestliche Portal hat unter diesem Kämpferprofil in den Leibungsflächen Bandornamente (*Fig. 7*). Von Gewände zu Gewände spannt sich ein Stichbogen, der aus elf abwechselnd schwarzen und weissen Marmorblöcken gemauert ist. Diese Wölbsteine sind bis auf den mittelsten kleinen weissen gleichgross und durch Rundstab und Hohlkehle miteinander verzinkt. Über dem Stichbogen sitzt eine Inschriftplatte. Die Zwickel zwischen ihm und dem Bogen sind glatte, nicht ornamental behandelte Marmorflächen. Der schrifttragende Block ist so bearbeitet, dass die Schrift und der Rahmen aus der Fläche heraustreten. Diese sind vergoldet, während der Grund grün gemalt ist.

Die Inschriften der Portale stammen von dem Kalligraphen Ḥasan Čelebī dem Liebblingsschüler Kara-Ḥiṣārīs.⁸ Im nw. Tore ist es die 73. Zeile der 39. Sure des *Ḳor'āns*.⁹

Die Türöffnung ist 1,85 m breit und 3,30 m hoch. Die hölzernen Türflügel sind in drei Flächen aufgeteilt, deren glatte obere nur von einem breiten Rahmen ineinander gesteckter Stäbe umspannt ist. Das sehr lange Mittelfeld und das quadratische untere sind aus unzähligen Brettern und Brettchen zusammengesetzt (*Fig. 28*). Das starke Schwinden des Holzes in der Sommerhitze und das Quellen in der Regenzeit brachte schon früh den Morgenländer auf die Idee, das Schwindmass durch möglichst häufiges Aneinanderreihen von

⁸ Nach Mustakīm Zāde, *Tuḥifat ul-Khaṭṭāṭin*, Istanbul, 1928, S. 94 und ebenso nach Ḥabīb, *Khaṭṭ in Khaṭṭāntān*, Istanbul, 1305, S. 84 (übersetzt bei C. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris, 1908, p. 116) ist der Schreiber unserer Inschrift der berühmte Meister Kara Ḥiṣārī, der 963/1556 starb. Es ist aber nicht anzunehmen, dass die Moschee schon damals begonnen war, ehe noch der Admiral auf

der glanzvollen Höhe seines Lebens stand. Da Ḥasan Čelebī, sein intimster Schüler, den grossen Schriftfries im Innern schuf, so ist fast als sicher anzunehmen, dass Ḥasan nach einer Unterlage seines Meisters den Portal-spruch schrieb.

⁹ Übersetzt bei Max Hennig, *Der Koran*, Reclam Nr. 4206-4210 a S. 458.

Brettchen auf das grösstmögliche zu beschränken, so entstehen Kassettenfüllungen. Diese Kassetten sind immer geometrisch gebildet. Die Flächenornamente führen bald zu einer komplizierten Kunstfertigkeit bei der Herstellung der Holzteile. Dieses Ornament wird in alle Arten der Flächendekoration übernommen.¹⁰ Das hier vorkommende Polygonalmuster ist im Mittelfeld auf den regelmässigen Zehnstern, dem zwei Fünfstern gegenüberstehen, gegründet. Die drei Hauptpolygone durchdringen sich und formen so das reizvolle Ornament. Im Quadratfeld ist das Ornament auf den Sechsstern aufgebaut. Zwischen den Feldern auf den Querhölzern des Rahmens sind kalottenförmige Knöpfe aufgeleimt. Die Schlagleiste ist in der Länge des Mittelfeldes gefasst. Die Beschläge bestehen aus ausgesägten, ziselierten Bronzeblechen.

Die Innenseiten der Portale sind anders gebildet als die eben beschriebenen. Der spitzböig überwölbte innere Leibungsraum ist so tief, dass die beiden Türflügel beim Aufschlagen sich in die Leibung legen können. Die darüber liegende Spitztonne ist durch einen "Eselsrücken" verblendet, der an seinen Kanten flach profiliert ist. Die gleichen Profile wie am Eselsrücken selbst rahmen diesen rechteckig. Der Kämpfer ist durch Herausziehen des Bogens über die Leibung um wenige Zentimeter sichtbar gemacht. In den Zwickeln sitzen aus Blattornamenten gebildete, hohle Stuckkalotten. Der heutige farbige Zustand ist jungen Datums; ältere Malerei ist an einer Stelle gut sichtbar. Die Türflügel zeigen innen nur die Rahmen mit ihren Füllplatten. Das lange Mittelfeld ist auf dieser Seite durch zwei Querhölzer versteift. Der Schwellenstein ist im Mittelstück aus schwarzem Marmor.

DIE FENSTER (Plan *Fig. 8* und *Fig. 29*)

Entgegen der im Islam häufigen Regel, bei unteren Fenstern keine Fensterbänke anzuordnen, sind hier Bänke vorhanden. Der marmorne Fensterrahmen sitzt nicht direkt auf dem Fussboden auf, die innere Fensterzohle liegt ca. 30 cm über dem Fussboden. Die auftretenden Profile sind den oben beschriebenen der Portale gleich. Der gewölbte Fensterraum wird an der Aussenfront im Blendbogen sichtbar, der etwas hinter die Wand zurücktritt.

Im äusseren Rahmen sitzt ein starkes Bronzegitter und die Fensterverglasung. Am Innenrahmen sind die Fensterläden angebracht. Die Bronzegitter sollen aus den auf Beutezügen mitgebrachten Kirchenglocken gefertigt sein (Quelle s. u. S. 166). Die senkrechten Stäbe laufen von oben nach unten durch, die wagerechten Stäbe sind durch Muffen an den senkrechten Stäben befestigt.

Die Holzläden sind ebenso wie die Türflügel aus drei Feldern gefügt, von denen das obere als liegendes Rechteck ohne ornamentale Gestaltung gebildet ist. Das lange Mittelfeld und das quadratische untere sind aus Brettchen gleich denen der Portale zusammengefügt. Das Ornament setzt sich hier aus rechteckigen und quadratischen Elementen zusammen. Es entsteht ein sogenanntes "Hezārbāf"-Muster,¹¹ ein Flechtwerk.

¹⁰ O. Reuther, *Das Wohnhaus in Bagdad*, Berlin, 1910, S. 71 ff.

¹¹ Nach O. Reuther, *a.a.O.*, S. 74.

Ausser den Erdgeschossfenstern haben auch noch die Fenster der Emporen scheitrechte Stürze. Alle übrigen sind mit Spitzbögen nach oben abgeschlossen. Die Aussenseiten haben heute keinerlei Gitter oder Verglasung und sind so als grosse dunkle Öffnungen in der sonnenbeschienenen, weissen Fläche sichtbar. Es kann wohl aber mit Recht angenommen werden, dass hier ehemals in Gips gefasste Butzenscheiben sassen. An den schwach profilierten Innenwänden sind die Fenster mit kreisrund durchlochenden, dünnen Stuckgitterplatten versehen. Ebenso sind die pyramidal gestellten Rundfenster in den Bogenfenstern ausgeführt.

DIE NEBENTÜREN

Die Türen zu dem Minäre und den Mittelemporen und die zwei Türen zu den Seitenemporen sind sehr schlicht und einfach behandelt. Sie haben mit Stuckleisten versehene Stichbögen und sind so schmal, dass sie in den dicken Mauern gangartig wirken.

DIE EINBAUTEN: DIE SEITENGALERIEN UND PORTALGALERIEN (*Fig. 21, 22*)

Durch die Vorhalle gelangt man seitlich der Portale auf engen, steilen Treppen zu den Seitenemporen und weiter zu den Emporen über den Portalen. Fünf Meter über dem Fussboden des Betraumes befinden sich in den Seitenliwanen die Seitenemporen. In der Mitte der Liwane sind 1,70 m breite Pfeiler und an die Kuppelpfeiler solche von 0,20–0,25 m Breite gestellt. Spitztonnen überspannen diese. Auf ihnen ruht der Galeriefussboden, der als dicke Platte mit Wulst unter der Brüstung, die ringsherum profiliert ist, herausgezogen ist. Das Kämpferprofil der Wölbbögen ist nur in der Leibungsfläche vorhanden und besteht aus Kyma und Platte (*Fig. 22*). Die Archivolte ist durch Zurückziehen ihrer Fläche hinter die eigentliche Wand betont. Der entstehende Absatz ist in späterer Zeit mit einem Profil geziert worden, ursprünglich war nur ein rechtwinkliger Einsprung angeordnet. An der Innenseite der Archivolte befindet sich eine Reihung von, halbkreisförmigen Scheiben von durchschnittlich 15 cm Radius, deren Flächen hinter die der Archivolte zurücktreten. Über den gemauerten Brüstungen der Galerien im östlichen Liwan sitzen Holzgitter aus neuerer Zeit (*Fig. 5*).

Die Portalgalerien, die durch schmale Gänge von den Seitengalerien aus zugänglich sind, liegen ebenso hoch wie die der Seitenliwane. Sie sind aber um ein Beträchtliches schmaler. In Höhe des Kämpfers der Kuppelbögen liegen hier noch einmal hölzerne Emporen, die vorn auf fünf quadratischen Holzstielen ruhen. Ein Holzstaket bildet die niedrige Brüstung.

DIE MU'ADHDHINGALERIE (*Fig. 30*)

Die Mu'adhdhingalerie, genau gegenüber des Mihrāb, ist durch das Minäre zugänglich. Sie liegt ebenfalls 5 m über dem Betraum und reicht knapp 2 m in diesen hinein, auf einem Unterbau von sechs Säulen mit Spitztonnen ruhend. Muḳarnaskapitelle aus Kalkstein krönen die roten Porphyrsäulen (Plan *Fig. 8, 1, 2, 3*). Die Kapitelle sind zweistufig, aber an den Ecksäulen anders gebildet als an den vorderen Mittelsäulen. Die hinteren Mittelsäulen

haben wieder andere Formen. Die Bögen zeigen die gleiche Archivoltbildung wie die der Seitengalerien aber um vieles feiner in den Verhältnissen, da der verwendete Marmor feinkörnig ist.

DAS MINÄRE (Plan *Fig. 3, 4, 5* und *Fig. 14, 21*)

Das einzige Minäre unserer Moschee ist durch seine Lage in der Mitte der Vorderfront besonders beachtenswert. Dass nur ein Minäre vorhanden ist, entspricht durchaus dem Brauch. Die Moscheen mit einem Minäre in Istanbul sind bei weitem in der Mehrzahl, als Beispiele seien nur genannt: Ahmet Pasha Moschee, Rustem Pasha Moschee, Nishāncī Pasha Moschee und andere. Alle diese Bauten sind etwa gleich alt der Piyale Pasha-Moschee. Da unser Minäre von ebener Erde aufsteigt, fehlt ein Mitteleingang, an dessen Stelle die kleine Gebetsnische getreten ist.

Das Minäre durchdringt die mittlere Schildwand und ist nach aussen als Lisene sichtbar, zerschneidet aber nicht den Gurtbogen. Im Innern reicht es weit in den Liwanraum hinein (*Fig. 21*). Unter dem Schriftband sind seine Ecken doppelt gefasst. Muqarnaszwinkel leiten zu der einfachen Viereckform nach oben über. Das Minäre durchdringt das Liwan-gewölbe noch in Viereckform. Ausserhalb der Dachhaut führt ein Konus von der Viereckform zur runden Form über. Ein Rundstabgesims liegt am Beginn des runden Baukörpers. Ein stark gegliedertes Hauptgesims krönt das Minäre. Zwischen den Rundstäben läuft ein Fries aus Blumengirlanden. Ein spitzes Faltdach beschliesst das Ganze. Der Turmknopf hat die Form einer Tughra (Sultansmonogramm) auf drei übereinander liegenden Kugeln.

In Zweidrittel Höhe umläuft der Balkon der Gebetsrufer, das Minäre. Sein Konsol wird langsam aus dem Schaft herausgezogen und schwingt sich allmählich nach aussen, um knapp unter der Balkonmauer von einem Rundstab abgelöst zu werden. Unter dem Konsol läuft um den Minäreschaft ein weiterer Rundstab. Das Minäre ist in diesem Aufbau dem der anderen Moscheen Istanbul und Kleinasien gleich. Der Schaft über dem Balkon ist schmaler als der unter diesem.

DIE ANBAUTEN

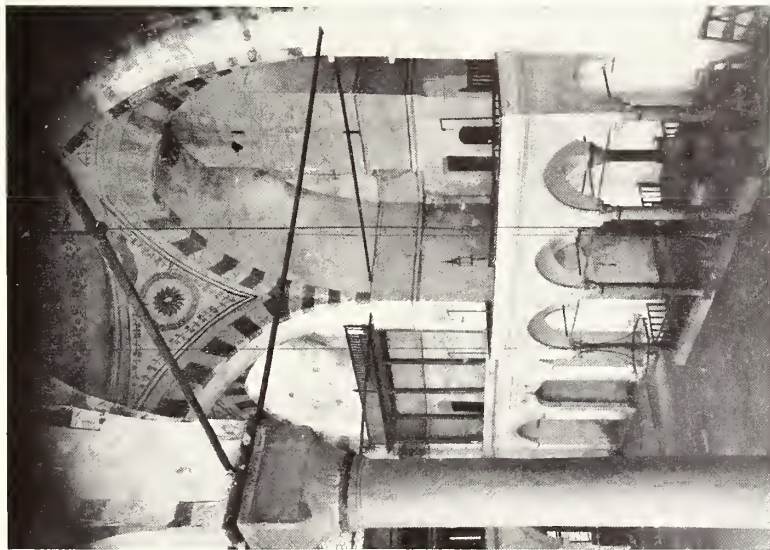
Die Vorhallen (Plan *Fig. 2, 3, 4, 5* und *Fig. 14, 15, 18, 19*). Die 8,50 m tiefen Hallen vor den Portalen und dem Minäre entstehen durch Überdecken der Zwischenräume zwischen den Strebebögen. Die Dächer ruhen nach dem Moscheehof zu auf je einem Säulenpaar, über dem Spitzbögen gespannt sind. Die Säulen tragen Kapitelle, deren Echinoi aus Faltflächen (Breccien) gebildet sind (*Fig. 18*). Den Vorhallen vor den Portalen schliesst sich je eine weitere Halle an durch Hineinziehen der Portalwand in die Moschee um 3,05 m. Dieser Raum wird durch eine Spitztonne überdeckt, die nach den Vorhallen zu auf zwei Säulen mit vierstufigen Muqarnaskapitellen ruhen. An diesen schmalen Hallen liegen unter spitztonnengewölben Verbindungsgänge zu den Arkaden, die von diesen durch je zwei Spitzbögen getrennt sind. Nach den Säulenhallen führt von den Gängen je ein knapp zwei Meter messender niedriger Durchgang mit Stichkappe.

Die Säulenhalle. Vor die drei Vorhallen legt sich eine 54,50 m lange und 6,40 m tiefe Säulenhalle mit 20 Säulen in Front mit Faltkapitellen (Plan *Fig. 2, 4* und *Fig. 14*). Die Säulenabstände sind ungleichmässig, zwischen den Portal zugängen und dem Gebetsnischen zugang der Mittelhalle sind die Interkolumnen kleiner (ca 1,90) als die übrigen, die etwa 2,70 m betragen. 1905 konnte C. Gurlitt noch das Dach dieser Säulenhalle und ebenso das der Vorhallen und Balkone photographieren (*Fig. 13*). Im Jahre 1929, als ich meine Arbeiten an der Piyale Paşa-Moschee aufnahm, waren die Dächer verschwunden. Die Höhe der Säulen einschliesslich der Kapitelle beträgt 3,50 m. Ob über den Säulen Archivolten bestanden haben, ist nicht mehr festzustellen, aber ohne weiteres anzunehmen, da die eisernen Zugbänder von Säule zu Säule noch vorhanden sind. Auf der photographischen Aufnahme Gurlitts (*Fig. 13*) ist eine Fachwerkkonstruktion erkenntlich, die aus jüngerer Zeit sein dürfte.

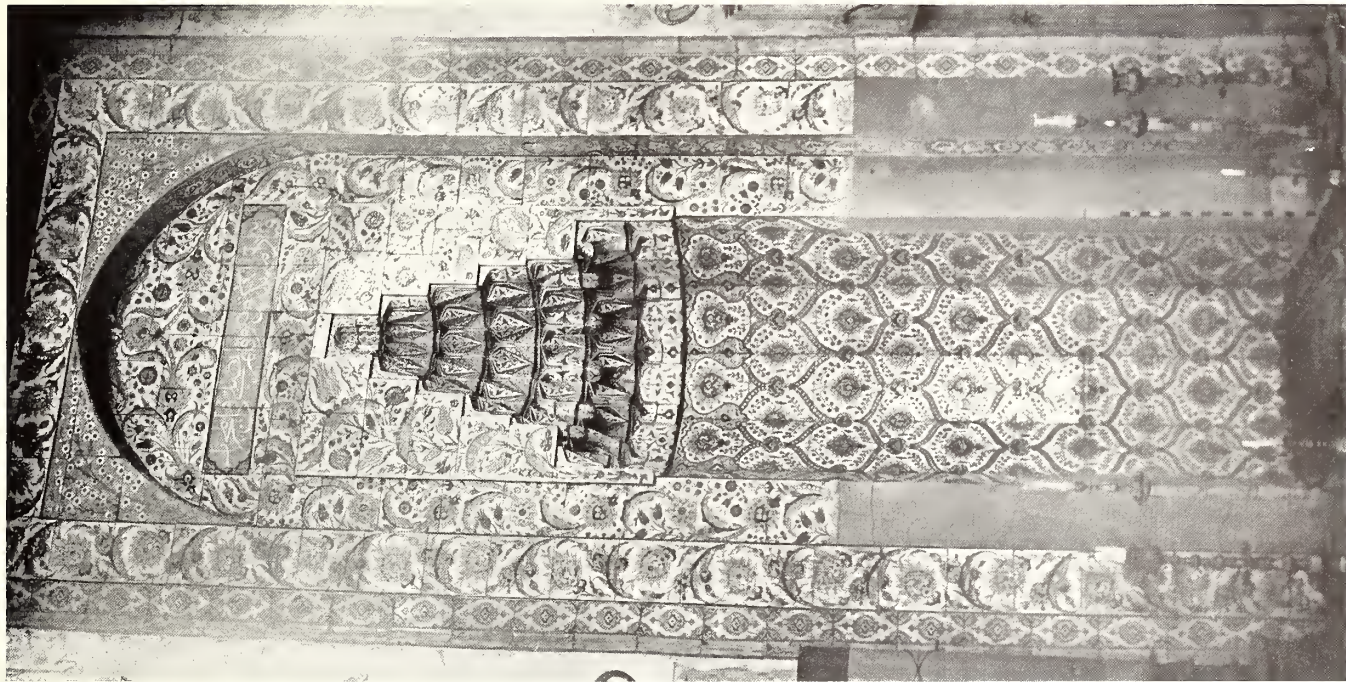
Die Arkaden und Balkone (Plan *Fig. 2, 3* und *Fig. 15, 16, 20*). Zu beiden Seiten der Moschee ziehen sich von der Kibla bis vor zur Säulenhalle mit Spitztonnen gedeckte, 5,00 m breite Arkadengänge hin. Sieben rd. 3,00 m breite und 4,40 m hohe Spitzbögen öffnen sich nach Nordosten, bzw. nach Südwesten. Die Spitzbögen zeigen an den Kämpfern keine Kämpferprofile. In der Nordostseite waren ursprünglich Brüstungsorthostaden zwischen die Arkaden gestellt. Die Archivolte ist gleich denen der Galerien im Innern gebildet. Über den Arkaden laufen Balkone hin, deren Dächer von je 25 Säulen mit korinthisierenden Kapitellen getragen werden. Die Kapitellformen weisen in ihren eigenartigen Formen nach Syrien, wo sie die römischen korinthischen Kapitelle schon in frühchristlicher Zeit ablösen (Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Taf. S. 15). Ob sie hier neu gebildet sind oder ob sie antikes Raubgut sind, lässt sich nicht ohne weiteres feststellen. Die gleichen Säulen sind auch im Wälidē-Khān in Istanbul und bei der Činili-Djami' in Üsküdar vorhanden (Gurlitt, *a.a.O.*, Taf. LXXIV, 13 f). Zwischen den Säulen sind Kalksteinplatten als Balustraden angeordnet. Diese Balkone sind von den Emporentreppen in den Gebäudeecken zugänglich.

DIE AUSSTATTUNG

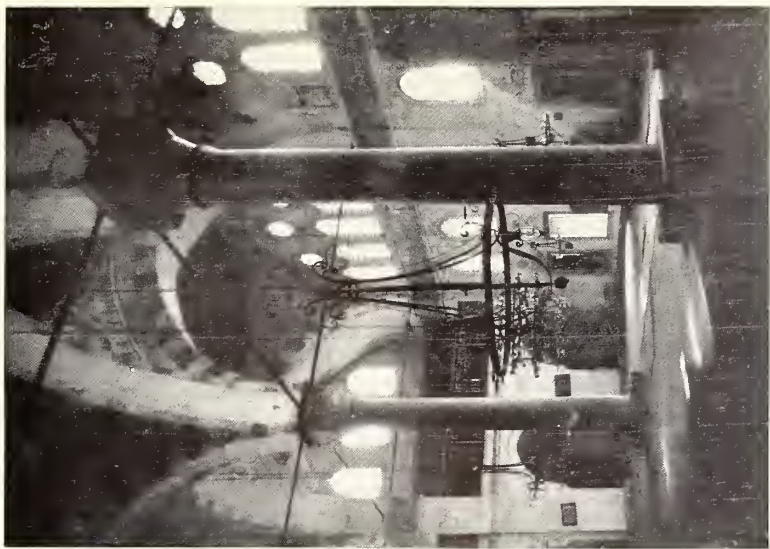
Die Ausstattung des grossen Betraumes ist recht schlicht. Ausser dem Mihrāb und dem Inschriftband ist nur noch auf die Ausgestaltung des Minbers (Kanzel) und der Sängerempore Wert gelegt. Auch die Emporen sind nicht übermässig reich gestaltet. Der ganze Innenraum ist heute weiss verputzt. Auf dem Putz sind mitunter Stuckprofile als Leisten und Bänder aufgesetzt, so im Kuppelring, entlang den Bögen und an den Emporenbrüstungen. Um die Fenster laufen ebensolche Profilbänder. Dieser weisse Putz mit den Profilen ist jungen Datums. Ein rötlicher Putz ohne Profilierung ist unter diesem erhalten. Die Profilformen der Bänder sind kaum noch festzustellen, da immer wiederholtes Übermalen jede Klarheit der Formen verwischt hat. Doch ist an einzelnen Stellen des Baues, wo das Profil an Marmor angearbeitet ist, die Gliederung genau zu beobachten. Wenn man diese Profile an den Gewänden der Portale und der Sängerempore den anderen zu Grunde legt, so würden



AUFN. MARTINY
FIG. 21—INNERES DER MOSCHEE
BLICK NACH WESTEN



AUFN. SENDER
FIG. 23—MIHRÄB

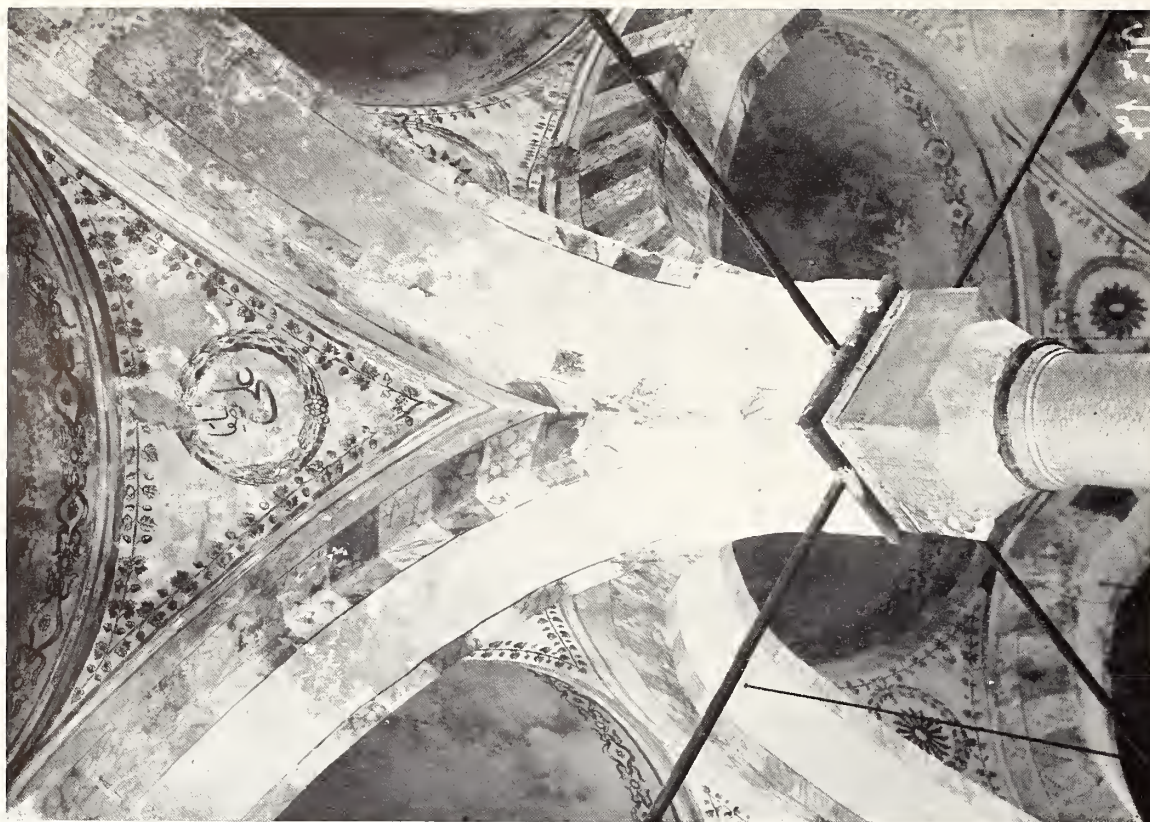


AUFN. MARTINY
FIG. 22—INNERES DER MOSCHEE
BLICK NACH OSTEN



AUFN. SENDER

FIG. 24—MIHRÄBDECOR



AUFN. SENDER

FIG. 25—KAPITELL DER MITTELSTÜTZE



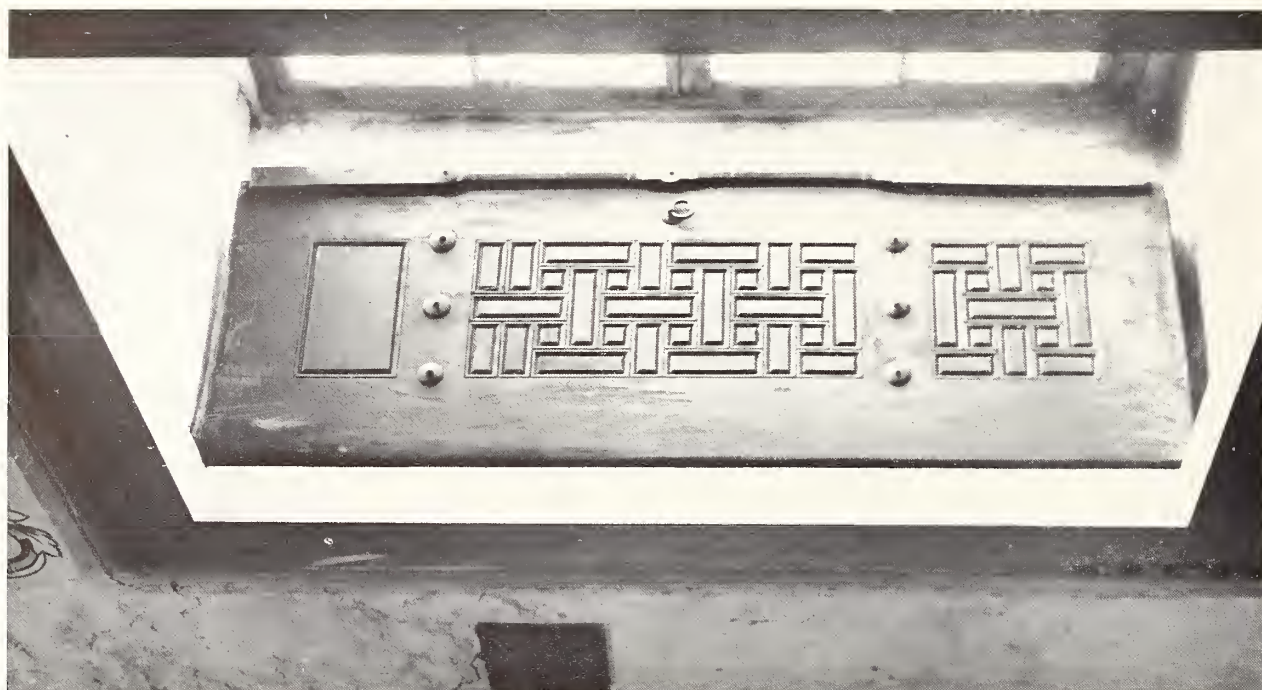
AUFN. SENDER

FIG. 26—INSCHRIFTBAND AM SÜDLICHEN KIBLAFELD



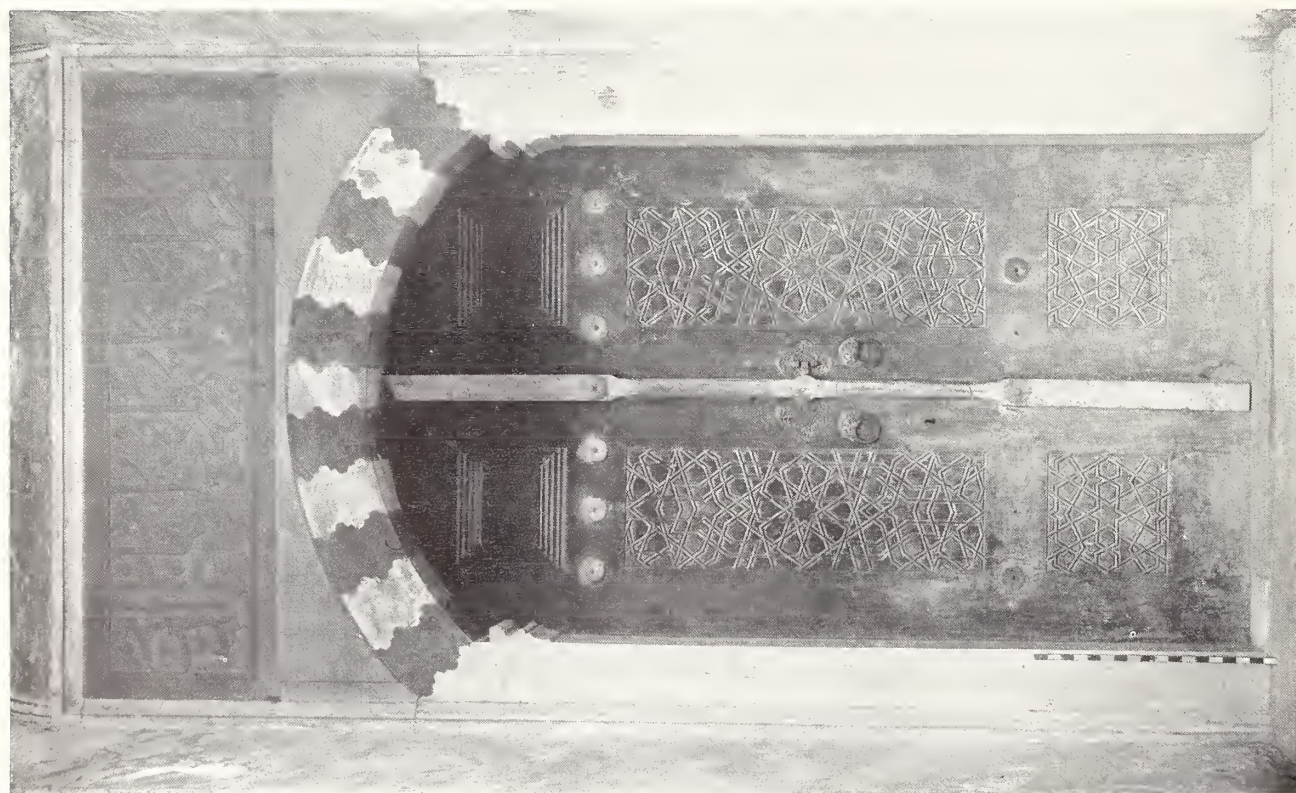
AUFN. SENDER

FIG. 27—INSCHRIFTBAND AN DEN SÜDWESTLICHEN LIWANEN



AUFN. SENDER

FIG. 20—FENSTERLADEN



AUFN. SENDER

FIG. 28—NÖRDLICHES PORTAL

überall Platte und Kyma auftreten, oft durch einen Rundstab bereichert. Gleiche Formen zeigen auch die Glieder des Minber.

Die Emporenbögen und der Unterbau der Mu'adhdhinempore, sind aus grauem Kalkstein. Die oben beschriebenen Bögen mit ihren Scheibenornamenten ruhen bei der Mu'adhdhinempore auf vorbeschriebenen farbigen Porphyrsäulen mit Kalkstein-Kapitellen. Die Bögen der Seitenemporen werden von Kämpferkonsolen aufgefangen. Diese Konsolen zeigen die gern angewandte Form der Kymae. Diese Emporenunterbauten sind heute verputzt. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Scheibenbögen ursprünglich ihre Marmorflächen zeigten.

Die Holzgitter (Fig. 5). Auf den profilierten, geputzten Brüstungen der n. ö. Empore sind Holzgitter angeordnet, als sog. "Kaiserliche Emporkirche." Der Pasha mit seinem (Kaiserlichen) Gast konnte hier, entzogen den Blicken des Volkes, am Gebet teilhaben. Zwischen vier hölzernen Rahmen spannen sich in jedem Liwan drei Gitterfenster, deren Mittleres geöffnet werden kann. Bei den Gitterfenstern des der Kibla zunächst liegenden Liwans wird die Kielbogenform angewendet, während im anderen Liwan gerade Rahmen gebildet sind.

Der Fussboden (Fig. 21). Der Fussboden ist mit grossen sechseckigen Ziegelplatten belegt, wie er in anderen Moscheen ebenfalls vorkommt. Hier wurde auf das Material kein wert gelegt, da ja Teppiche dieses unsichtbar machte.

Der Mu'adhdhinempore und auch die Gänge unter den Seitenemporen liegen eine Stufe höher als der Raum selbst.

Die grosse Gebetsnische (Fig. 23, 24). Wirkliches Augenmerk hat der Meister auf die Ausstattung der grossen Gebetsnische gelegt. Sie ist mit Fliesen verkleidet, zieht daher sofort die Augen aller Besucher auf sich.

Alle etwa gleichzeitigen Bauten Istanbuls sind von der damals neugegründeten Keramik-industrie in Nicaea (Iznik) beliefert worden.

Unsere Nische ist sehr reich gestaltet. Ein profiliertes in der Hauptsache blaue Töne aufweisendes Kachelband läuft als äusserer Abschluss im rechten Winkel um die Nische. Dieses Band wird von einem dreisteinigen Ornament bekrönt. Die Ansichtsflächen zu Seiten der eigentlichen Nische zeigen ein stark schwingendes Pflanzenornament mit dem türkischen Rot (Bulusrot). Die verwandte Keramik zeigt das bekannte "Bulusrot" des ausgehenden 16. Jahrhunderts, welches *in situ* in Istanbul am frühesten in der Suleymāniye anzutreffen ist (1554). Dann tritt es datierbar auf dem Fliessendekor fast aller nachfolgenden Moscheen des 16. Jahrhunderts und beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts auf. In chronologischer Reihenfolge seien genannt: Rustem Pasha Dj., Mehmet Pasha Dj., Topkapu Sarayı, Kilič 'Alī Pasha Dj., Eski Wālide Dj., Nishanči Pasha Dj., Mehmet Aghā Dj., Ramadhān Efendi Dj., Tekkiyeçi İbrāhīm Mesdjidi, um nur die Bauwerke Sināns zu nennen. Das auftretende Ornament wird von berufener Stelle bearbeitet werden. Die Zwickelflächen über der Mihrāb-Inschrift tragen gelb-weiße Blüten in blau. Die sieben Flächen der Nische und die Muḳarnasplatten sind vor allem in blau, grün und weiss gehalten. Der Spruch über der Nische ist aus dem *Kor'ān* entnommen (II, 33). Er bedeutet: "Und da riefen

ihn die Engel, während er zum Gebet in der Zelle stand." ¹² Die genaue Bearbeitung des Fliesendekors soll einem Kunstgeschichtler vorbehalten bleiben.

Das Inschriftband (Plan Fig. 5 und Fig. 21, 26, 27). Eine andere Kachel-Arbeit in der Moschee ist das Schriftband, das um den ganzen Raum herumläuft. Es besteht aus fünf Kachelreihen, deren oberste und unterste ein zierliches Ornament tragen, das an eine Knopfleiste erinnert. Es liegt hier der Gedanke nahe, dass der Schriftmaler, der das Band entwarf, sich nicht von dem Eindruck freimachen konnte, hier einen Gewebestreifen aufzuhängen. Die Schrift steht weiss auf dunkelblau und enthält Spuren von Bolusrot. Sie gehört in ihrem Schriftcharakter dem türkischen *Naskhi* an. Sie bringt die 62. und 112. Sure des *Kor'āns* und eine Schlussformel. ¹³ Der Kalligraph ist uns bekannt. Es ist der Tscherkesse Hasan Čelebī, der Lieblingsschüler des berühmten Kara Hişārī Ahmed Efendi. ¹⁴ Zwischen den Suren-Enden und -Anfängen sind bunte Teile eingefügt.

DER MINBER (Plan Fig. 9 und Fig. 31)

Südlich neben dem Mihrāb steht der Minber, die Kanzel für die Freitagspredigt. Die Kanzel ist aus weissem, wenig geädertem Marmor gebildet. Sie ist sehr schlicht und sparsam im Ornament, wodurch sie besonders vornehm erscheint und fast als nicht ins 16. Jahrhundert gehörig wirkt. Profilierte und zum Teil ausgeschnittene Gefache tragen die Treppe und das Kanzelhaus. Die Treppenbrüstungen sind glattflächig von einer profilierten Leiste gerahmt. Drei ausgeschnittene, verschieden hohe Felder mit Kielbögen und Dreiecksflächen tragen Brüstung und Stufen. Das Minberportal ist mit einem Stichbogen abgeschlossen. Darüber, noch innerhalb der Rahmenleiste, ist eine bronzene Schriftplatte eingelassen mit dem Glaubensbekenntnis. Über einer zweistufigen Muḳarnasplatte sitzt eine grün gefärbte Marmorplatte, die in Flachornament mit Bändern und Blättern den Abschluss bildet.

Die Kanzelaufbauten sind aus Holz und täuschen in ihrem Anstrich Stein vor. Auf achteckigen Säulen mit hölzernen Muḳarnaskapiteln sitzen Kielbögen, die schwarzweiss wie die Säulen gestrichen sind. Der zwölfeckige Tambur unter dem spitzen Turmdach ist geschnitzt.

Der Mihrāb-Baldachin (Plan Fig. 6 und Fig. 19). Vor den Marmor-Mihrāb in der mittleren Vorhalle ist ein Baldachin gestellt. Die Gebetsnische, die oben bereits besprochen wurde, ist in die weiss geputzte Wand eingefügt. Der Baldachinaufbau auf vier Marmorsäulen mit Muḳarnaskapiteln ist ebenfalls geputzt. Marmorplatten, die mit einem Rundstabprofil vorkragen, decken den nach oben offenen Baldachin. Die Kapitelle sind die gleichen wie die der Mittelsäulen der Mu'adhdhinempore (Plan Fig. 6).

Die Ausstattung des übrigen Äusseren der Moschee ist einfach. Alle äusseren sichtbaren Flächen bestehen aus Kalkstein. Die verdeckt liegenden Flächen in den Hallen, Arkadengängen und den Balkonen sind verputzt.

¹² Henning, *a.a.O.*, S. 81.

¹³ Henning, *a.a.O.*, S. 547 und S. 610.

¹⁴ Hāfiẓ Ḥusaīn Hadikat al-Djawāmi, Istanbul, 1281. II. S. 25 ff.

DIE BELEUCHTUNG (*Fig. 21, 22*)

Die Beleuchtungsfrage der Moschee ist ganz besonders interessant gelöst. Trotz der fensterlosen Kuppeln, die aber trotzdem in keiner Weise schwer lasten, ist eine Flut von Helligkeit im Raum. Jeder Eintretende wird, aus den düsteren Portalhallen kommend, geradezu mit Licht überschüttet, das ihm aus 40 Fenstern der Mihrābwand entgegenflutet, gesteigert von den Fenstern in den Bogenfeldern der sieben Liwane. Die Fenster der Emporen gehen nach den gedeckten Balkonen und kommen für die Belichtung des Raumes nicht in Frage.

DIE NEBENANLAGEN

Die Türbe und der Friedhof (Plan *Fig. 11* und *Fig. 33*). Im Südosten vor der Kibla-Wand, etwa 3 m tiefer als das Hofniveau, liegt sanft zum Bach geneigt und von einer Mauer umgeben der Friedhof. Er ist von der südwestlichen Arkade durch eine steinerne Freitreppe, in der heutigen Form jüngeren Datums, zugänglich. Eine Pforte führt durch die Friedhofsmauer hinaus auf die Talstrasse nach Kasim Pasha.

Etwas aus der Mitte gerückt, liegt hier die zierliche Türbe (Mausoleum) des Stifters, des Piyale Pasha. Eigenartig fremdartig erscheint sie im Vergleich mit den Türben Istanbuls. Die Istanbuler Türbenbauten mit Kuppeln auf quadratischen oder polygonalen Unterbauten haben durch ihre oft reichen Architektur niemals die Schwere der Türben des eigentlichen semitischen Orients. Aber in übertriebene Leichtigkeit ist unsere Türbe gesteigert: auf 24 leichten Säulen tanzt ein Dach in halber Höhe um das weisse Achteck, über dem auf einem niedrigen falschen Tambur die bleigedekte Kuppel schwingt. Alles andere als die Idee eines ernsten Todes ist hier zum Ausdruck gebracht. Eher erinnert dieser Zentralbau an Parkhäuser und Teepavillons abendländischer Barockbaukunst (unwillkürlich kommt hier der Gedanke an Bramantes kleinen Tempietto von S. Pietro in Montorio in Rom,¹⁵ das bereits 1502 entstanden war, oder auch an den heiligen Berg Orta). Das Dach des Säulenumganges war ursprünglich, wie es an einer Stelle noch sichtbar ist, mit Bleiplatten eingedeckt. Heute besteht es aus Ziegeln. Der Säulengang scheint nachträglich hinzugefügt. Man hat zur Schaffung des Sparrenaufagers einen schmalen Streifen aus den Quadern des Baues herausgestemmt und die Latte für die Decke ist nur mit Nägeln, die in die Mauerfuge eingetrieben sind, befestigt. Aber die Säulen, die genau denen der Balkone entsprechen und nicht zuletzt die einwandfreien Verhältnisse des Bauwerkes einschliesslich des Säulenganges sprechen dafür, dass wir hier einen einheitlichen Bau vor uns haben. Die Art der Dachbefestigung des Säulenganges ist die bei türkischen Bauwerken übliche, und berechtigt nicht, zwei Bauperioden zu konstruieren.

Die Türbe ist mit ihrem Säulenumgang keineswegs alleinstehend in Istanbul. Die Türbe des väterlichen Freundes und Erziehers unseres Piyale, die des Suleimān des Grossen, hat ebenfalls einen Säulenumgang, wenngleich dieser sehr viel reicher gebildet ist.

¹⁵ P. Schubring, *Die Architektur der italienischen Hochrenaissance*, München, 1924, S. 15.

Der Zugang geschieht von Nordwesten der Kibla gegenüber. Die Wände erhalten trotz der horizontalen Teilung durch das Dach des Säulenumganges eine stark betonte Senkrechte durch die Anordnung der Fenster. Auf dem Ziegeldach sitzen in den Achteckflächen Kielbogenfenster. Unter ihnen in der Halle sind wenig breitere Fenster mit geradem Sturz angeordnet. Zwischen die Säulen des Umganges sind niedrige Kalksteinplatten gestellt. Die Säulen und ihre Kapitelle sind denen der Balkone der Moschee gleich. Das Innere ist schmucklos und enthält 14 Sarkophage des Pasha und seiner Kinder. Die Katafalke, mit dem Kopfteil nach Südwesten, stehen senkrecht zur Kibla-Achse. Am weitesten südwestlich steht der Katafalk Piyale Pasha und seines Lieblingssohnes.

Unter den Grabsteinen, die um die Türbe herumstehen und liegen, oft stark zerstört, sind mir künstlerisch besonders hervorragende Stücke nicht aufgefallen. Ebensolche gibt es noch Tausende auf den malerischen Friedhöfen Istanbuls. In dem Grabgarten liegt ausser dem Stifter in seiner Türbe noch ein Grossadmiral Kapudân Pasha 'Abd al-Rahmân Pasha bestattet.¹⁶

Das Hamâm. Das in dem Buch "Gärten der Moscheen"¹⁷ erwähnte Hamâm, befand sich nach dem Stolpe'schen Plane von Istanbul südlich der Moschee jenseits der Strasse. Es ist heute nicht mehr vorhanden.

Das Waschhaus. Das Ablutionshaus am Nordosttor ist bis 1930 noch sichtbar gewesen (Fig. 34).

Vor zwei langen Brunnenbecken legte sich der Waschsteg. Die marmorne Schauseite der Becken ist mit schwach reliefierten Ornamenten geschmückt: Pilaster mit korinthisierenden Kapitellen, darüber Kragbögen, im Zwickel eine Muschel. Dieses Ornament weist nach Syrien und wird geradezu syrisches Ornament genannt. Das Brunnenhaus war mit einem auf zwei Säulen ruhenden Ziegeldach gedeckt. Von den Säulen stand 1929 noch eine *in situ*, die andere lag im Schutt der Dachziegel. Beide Säulen sind denen der Balkone und der Türbe gleich. Hinter den Brunnenbecken befand sich eine Abortanlage, von der nur die Eingangstür alt gewesen sein dürfte. Über profilierten Gewänden ruhte ein Kragbogen. Rechts neben dem Waschhaus lag der eigentliche Sammel-schacht für das zum Waschen nötige Wasser.

Die Tore (Plan Fig. 1). Von den Hoftoren sind nur Stümpfe aus alter Zeit erhalten. Sie lagen achsial zu den Moscheeportalen. Vor dem südlichen dieser beiden Tore steht im Hofe noch eine Säule, in Art der Türbe—und Waschhaussäulen aufrecht. Sie mag im Verein mit anderen zu einer Eingangshalle gehört haben. Hier kann vielleicht eine kleine Grabung Aufschluss geben. Das Tor am Ablutionshaus und das diesem gegenüber sind in der jetzigen Form jung.

Die Medrese und Tekke. Von der Medrese und dem Derwischkloster, die beide in Ewliya¹⁸ genannt sind, ist heute nichts mehr vorhanden. Die Medrese wird rechts und links

¹⁶ Duda, *Türkische Post*, 3. Jahrg., Nr. 298, 28.10.28.

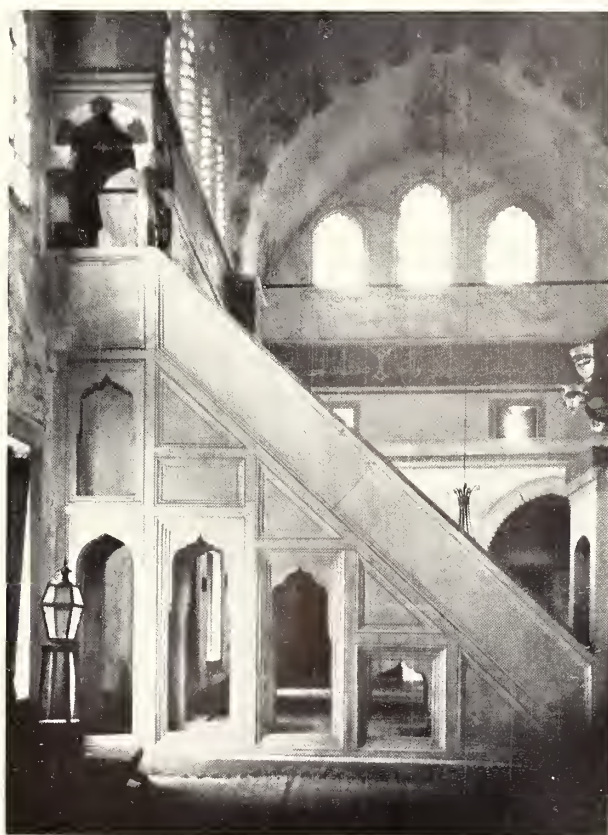
¹⁷ Hâfiz Hüsain, *a.a.O.*, No. 44.

¹⁸ Ewliya Çelebi, *Istanbuler Druck* 1314/1680, S. 318 ff.



AUFN. SENDER

FIG. 30—MU'ADHDHINEMPORE



AUFN. MARTINY

FIG. 31—MINBER



AUFN. MARTINY

FIG. 32—ALTER UND NEUER PUTZ, DER NEUE PUTZ MIT PROFIL



AUFN. MARTINY

FIG. 34—WASCHHAUS



AUFN. SENDER

FIG. 33—TÜRBE DES PIYALE PASHA

des Westtores erwähnt. Vielleicht gehören ein Teil der im Hofe verstreut liegenden Säulen mit Blattkapitellen, wie die oben beschriebenen der Balkone, zu ihr. Im "Garten der Moscheen"¹⁹ wird sie, aus 40 Zellen bestehend, mit einem Umgang auf 18 Säulen erwähnt. Vom Derwischkloster²⁰ ist kein Baurest mehr erhalten. Auch die erwähnte Volksschule ist nicht mehr zu identifizieren.

Da der südwestliche Teil des Hofes besiedelt ist, war dort eine nähere Untersuchung nicht möglich.

DIE VERHÄLTNISZAHLEN DER PIYALE PASHA-MOSCHEE

(Plan *Fig. 5, 6*)

Edhem Pasha macht vor mehr als 60 Jahren darauf aufmerksam,²¹ dass sich auch in der türkischen Baukunst nach und nach eine strenge Gesetzmässigkeit und Ordnung herausbildet. Er weiss sogar wichtige Fixpunkte seiner Theorie anzugeben, leider aber ohne Quellen. So nennt er Ilyas 'Alî, den Baumeister der Grünen Moschee (1423) in Brussa als den Begründer der osmanischen Baukunst. Khayr al-Dîn, der Meister des Beyazid-Moschee in Istanbul (1505), soll die Formgesetze der osmanischen Architektur festgelegt haben. Von ihm sollen die Ordnungen eingeführt sein. Und Sinân, aus dessen Schule wohl auch unser Bau hervorging, hat dann nach Edhem Pasha die osmanischen Architekturformen gesetzmässig festgestellt. Seitdem gibt es drei Säulenordnungen in der türkischen Baukunst, die wir alle drei an unserer Moschee wiederfinden. Es gilt nunmehr die von Sinân vorgeschriebenen Gesetze an unserem Bau zu beobachten. Zur schrägkantigen Ordnung, von der man verlangt, dass sie nur bei ganz grosser Einfachheit angewandt wird und dann statt der Säulen Pfeiler erhält, gehören bei uns die beiden Hauptsäulen, die Mittelstützen. Hier wäre also eine Weiterentwicklung des Gesetzes vom Pfeiler zur Säule.

Die zweite Ordnung, die bei Edhem Pasha "Breccienordnung" genannt wird (heute nennt man sie häufiger Falflächenordnung), bildet bei unserer Moschee die Säulen der Vorhallen. Diese Ordnung soll von Sinân erfunden sein, und sie darf niemals bei Profanbauten angewandt werden (Tatsächlich lässt sie sich nicht eher nachweisen).

Als dritte Ordnung wird die kristallförmige genannt. Der Kunstgeschichtler hat den Ausdruck "Stalaktidförmig" gebildet. Ich benutze nach Reuther den arabischen Ausdruck *mukarnas*. Bei uns tritt sie bei den Säulen der Dikké und aussen an den Portalen auf.

Die Ordnungen unterliegen strengen Zahlgesetzen. Als Masseinheit gilt die grösste Breite des Kapitells als "*ein Modul*," der in neun und diese in vier Teile aufgeteilt werden. Der Vorschrift: unterer Durchmesser der Säule beträgt 6 Moduleile, oberer Säulendurchmesser $5\frac{1}{2}$ Moduleile, genügen unsere Säulen nicht. Die Höhe der Mittelsäulen beträgt einschliesslich Kapitell $6\frac{1}{2}$ Moduli. Nach unteren Säulendurchmessern gemessen beträgt die

¹⁹ Hâfiz Hüsâin, *a.a.O.*, Nr. 44.

²⁰ Ewliya, *a.a.O.*

²¹ Edhem Pasha, *Ottomanische Architektur*, Constan-

tinople, 1873, S. 3, und H. Glück, *Die Bäder Konstantinopels*, Wien, 1921, S. 15-31.

Säulenschafthöhe 8 untere Säulendurchmesser (16 Halbmesser), was der Vorschrift genügen würde. Höhe und Breite des Kapitells ist auch bei unserem Bauwerk gleich.

Gute Modulzahlen ergeben sich bei den übrigen Massen der Moschee. Hier wird verlangt, dass immer ganze Zahlen des halben Modul auftreten. Ich nenne nur einige wichtige Zahlen der Moschee in Moduli umgerechnet: Säulenabstand von Säulenmitte zu Säulenmitte $15 \frac{M}{2}$, Kuppeldurchmesser $13 \frac{M}{2}$, Scheitelhöhe des Gurtbogens und auch der Kuppel und Emporenhöhe je $7 \frac{M}{2}$. Höhenmasse sind vom Fussboden bis zur Empore 7, bis zur Oberkante der Holzgitter 10, bis zum Kuppelanfang 22, bis zum Kuppelscheitel 29, bis zur Kuppelaufsatzspitze 32 und bis zur Spitze des Minäre $54 \frac{M}{2}$. Die Innenraumbreite beträgt $28 \frac{M}{2}$, die Innenraumlänge $43 \frac{M}{2}$. Der Radius der Gurtbogen beträgt $7,5 \frac{M}{2}$. Die lichte Breite der Fenster misst 1 Modul ($2 \frac{M}{2}$).

Auch aussen tritt das Modulmass auf. So misst die Breite des quadratischen Unterbaues des Minäre 2 Moduli. Die Kuppelsimse liegen 1 Modul über den Scheiteln der Gurtbögen. Das grosse Hallendach beginnt 1 M unter dem Moscheehauptgesims. Die Interkolumnen der Zugänge betragen 2 Moduli.

So ist der ganze Bau durch die Kapitellmasse der Mittelstützen festgelegt. Er unterliegt also einer strengen Gesetzmässigkeit und es ist jetzt darauf zu achten, ob Ähnliches bei anderen Moscheen gemessen werden kann.

BAUGESCHICHTE

Piyale Pasha,²² der Stifter dieser Moschee, wurde als Christensklave am kaiserlichen Hofe Suleimans des Grossen erzogen. Er war kroatischer Herkunft (angeblich das Kind eines Schusters in Tolna²³ und gehörte zum Knabentribut des ersten ungarischen Krieges Suleimans des Grossen. Die fiktive muslimische Bezeichnung seines Vaters: 'Abd al-Rahman, Knecht des Gütigen, weist darauf hin, dass sein Vater in der Türkei unbekannt war, und so dem Sohne ein unbestimmter Vaternamen zudiktiert wurde. Als kluger Mensch brachte er es zu hohen Stellungen und wurde schliesslich Verwandter des Kaisers. 1547 ist er Kammerherr, 1554 Admiral (Kapudân). Bekannt wurde er durch seine Seeschlachten bei Gerba gegen die Spanier und durch die Eroberung von Chios.²⁴ Er eroberte 67 Inseln und nahm in einer Seeschlacht den neapolitanischen General gefangen. Bald wurde er dritter Wezir, heiratete die Tochter Gewhr des Sultans Selim II. und wurde unter ihm Mitglied des geheimen Staatsrates. Er besass reiche Staatsdomänen, auf deren einer er die Piyale Pasha-Moschee hat bauen lassen.

Ausser der Piyale Moschee baute er die Küçük Piyale Pasha-Moschee, unweit der grossen. In Galipoli baute er eine Moschee und ein Bad. In Skutari legte er einen Park

²² Duda, *Türkische Post*, 3. Jahrg. Nr. 298.28.10.28.

²³ N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, 1910.

²⁴ *Enzyklopädie des Islam*, I, S. 1081 ff; Ewliya

Čelebi, *Istanbuler Druck*, 1314, B. I. S. 318 ff, schlecht übersetzt bei J. von Hammer, *The Travels of Ewliya Efendi*, London, 1848, S. 45 ff.

an und in Istanbul am Beginn des "Langen Marktes" hat er einen Brunnen und darüber eine Kinderschule errichtet.

Dieser Grosse des osmanischen Reiches starb am 23. Dezember 1577 (985 H.).

Der Name des Baumeisters der Piyale Pasha-Moschee ist nicht bekannt. Doch muss der Meister unserer Moschee zu den bedeutendsten Architekten seiner Zeit gezählt haben, der sich mit Sinān wohl messen konnte. Falls es nicht doch Sinān selbst war so stand unser Meister ganz eng zur Schule des Sinān. Babinger erwähnt eine Piyale Pasha-Moschee bei Khusraw Pasha als 11. Bau in der Liste der Bauten Sināns.²⁵ In dem *Tadhkirat al-Bunyān* des Muṣṭafa Sa'ī²⁶ steht aber deutlich zu lesen: "Bālī Pasha Djāmi'ī Khusraw Pasha türbesi kürbünde." Somit ist der Bau bei Sinān nicht genannt. Architekten gleicher Zeit neben Sinān waren der grosse Architekt Kemāl,²⁷ Jetīm Bābā 'Alī, der Gehilfe Sināns an der Suleimaniye²⁸ und die Schüler Sināns.

Der Bau der Moschee ist nach dem Chronogramm der Stiftungsurkunde 981 im Monat Radjab (27.10.-25.11.1573) vollendet.²⁹ Das Chronogramm lautet:

"*khair al-'amal*"—glückliches Werk. Es heisst auch darin:
Damit das Gelände seiner Moschee nicht zu Lasten der
Bewohner des Ortes gehe, habe er verfügt, dass die
Mittel dazu von seinem Waḳf (Stiftungsgut) genommen
werden.

kh—600
ī— 10
r—200
a— 1
l— 30
'a— 70
m— 40
l— 30
981

Die Moschee ist also während der Haupttätigkeit Sināns gebaut worden, gleichzeitig mit seinem Meisterwerk, der Selīmiye in Edirne. Es kann daher wohl angenommen werden, dass unsere Moschee aus der Schule des Sinān ist. Sie muss zu einer der gewaltigsten Bauleistungen türkischer Renaissance gezählt werden. Das beweist sie in ihrer Absonderlichkeit und grossen Schönheit.

Die älteste Beschreibung durch Ewliya Čelebī³⁰ lautet (übersetzt von P. Wittek, Brüssel):

"Die Piyale Pasha-Moschee, am Ausgang des Tales, mit der Kiblaste [Mihrābwand] auf einer hohen Untermauer ruhend, ist eine solid gebaute Moschee. Ihr Erbauer ist der Wezīr des Sultāns Suleīmān Khān's und Eroberer von Sākiz [Chios], der Admiral Kodja Piyale Pasha. Sie hat 12 [6] hohe Kuppeln, die auf roten Porphyrsäulen aufgeführt sind.

²⁵ Babinger, "Die türkische Renaissance," in H. Grothe, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, Bd. XI, 1914.

²⁶ Istanbul, 1315, S. 28, und Ahmet Refik, *Mimar Sinan*, Istanbul, 1931, S. 64.

²⁷ Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphorus*, 1822, I. S. 443, Nr. 88.

²⁸ F. Babinger, "Quellen zur osmanischen Künstlergeschichte," in *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, I. 1924, S. 31 f.

²⁹ Ḥafiz Ḥusaīn, *a.a.O.*, Nr. 44.

³⁰ *A.a.O.*, S. 318 ff.

Ihr Minber und ihr Mihrāb ist einfach und schön, ihre Fensterkreuze sind aus Bronze. Wie man erzählt, hat der Pasha die Kirchenglocken der von ihm eroberten Länder heimgebracht und daraus die Fenster seiner Moschee anfertigen lassen. Da diese mit Kristall und anderem Glas ausgestattet sind, ist ihr Inneres sehr hell. An der Eingangstür auf der Vorderseite steht über der Schwelle von der Hand des Kara-Hişārī geschrieben, in reinem Gold der *Ḳor'ān* verse "Selām 'aleykom" (*Ḳor'ān* XXXIX, 73). Über dem Podium der Vorhalle sind Kuppeln [Spitztonne], die auf Säulen aus Muschelkalk ruhen [im Text heisst es: *zenburī*, d.i. wabenförmig]. Die Mihrābwände dieser Podien sind von oben bis unten mit allerlei Ḳor'ānsprüchen, Versen und anderem beschrieben. In einem grossen Vorhof stehen sechs gewaltige Platanen, sodass, wer sich darunter ergeht, sich im Schatten der zum Himmel strebenden Äste ergötzt. Dieser Hof hat vier Tore; rechts und links vom Tor an der Westseite sind 40 Zellen einer Medrese. Als Piyale Pasha die Erbauung dieser Moschee in Angriff nahm, fand er an der Nordseite sieben herrliche Gefässe mit Gold. Diese Stelle ist auch heute noch zu sehen und erkennbar. Auch die Gefässe sind aufbewahrt, nämlich in Istanbul in dem Brunnenhaus des Piyale Pasha am Beginn des Uzunčarsu (langer Markt), sie sind aus Marmor. So ist diese Medrese also ein mit derartig rechtmässigem Gold aufgeführtes Gotteshaus. Der Pasha hat in der Umgebung der Moschee ein Derwischkloster, für sich selbst ein Begräbnis, dann einen Hamām und einen Markt gebaut. Es ist ein Ghāzī-Pasha gewesen."

Eine weitere Beschreibung der Moschee befindet sich bei Ḥafız Husaīn, "Garten der Moscheen." Sie erscheint hier als Nr. 44 der Moscheen des Viertels Ḳāsim Pasha. Es heisst dort (übersetzt durch Dr. Wittek):

"Thr Erbauer ist der Ḳapudan-Pasha und Wezīr Piyale Pasha b. 'Abd al-Raḥman. Er liegt vor dem Mihrāb der Moschee in einer freistehenden Türbe begraben. Gestorben ist er am 12. *Dhu l-Ḳa'da* 985 (23.12.1577).

Die im Innern der Moschee angebrachten Djelī-Aufschriften sind Werke eines Schülers des berühmten Kalligraphen Kara Hişārī Aḥmed Efendi, nämlich des Tscherkessen Ḥasan Efendi.

Die Moschee ist mit einer Sultansgalerie und allen sonstigen Einrichtungsgegenständen vollständig ausgestattet. Mit Kuppeln, die auf zwei Säulen ruhen, ist sie ein Kunstwerk von einer Moschee. In dem vor ihr liegenden Hofe ist eine Zeile von Zellen, und zwar auf der einen Seite die Zellen einer Medresse, auf der anderen die eines Klosters. Ausserhalb des Tores steht ein Wandbrunnen und innerhalb des Hofes ein Brunnen, ein steinerner Wasserlauf und Abtritte. Zur Moschee gehören im Friedhof die Türbe, gegen den Markt zu ein Gebäude mit einer Schule im Oberstock und auf dem Markt der Moschee ein hohes zweikuppeliges Hamām (Bad). Gegenüber der Sultansgalerie ist eine weitere Galerie. Rechts und links und oberhalb von der auf sechs Säulen ruhenden Estrade der Mu'adhdhins ist ebenfalls noch je eine Galerie. Auch aussen an der Moschee sind rechts und links zwei hohe Galerien erbaut, eine jede mit 25 Säulen. Ausser diesen Säulen sind noch im gewölbten Teile 12 Pfeiler vorhanden. An der Klosterseite ruhen die Bögen auf 29 Säulen, auf der Medreseseite auf 18.

Das Dach über den Wasserausläufen für die Waschungen ruht auf 2 Säulen. An der Türbe stehen aussen im Kreis herum 22 Säulen (richtig 24 Säulen). In der Türbe liegen in der ersten Reihe die Särge des Gründers und seines Sohnes, in der zweiten Reihe die von einem anderen Sohne und einer Tochter, in der dritten Reihe die von weiteren zwei Söhnen und fünf Töchtern. Die Vollendung der Moschee erfolgte nach dem Vermerk in ihrer Stiftungsurkunde in dem Jahre, dessen Chronogramm "khaīr al-'amal" ist, nämlich 981 im geehrten Monat Redjeb. Die Moschee hat also vier Jahre vor dem Hinscheiden ihres Stifters ihre Vollendung gefunden. Wegen der vielen Eroberungen, die dem Stifter beschieden waren, hat ein Dichter seiner Zeit folgendes Lobgedicht auf ihn verfasst:

"Während ich sorglos verweilte, drang an mein Ohr der Ruf
Wach auf und tu in Demut dein Gebet!
Spaniens Flotte kapernd, Schiff um Schiff
hat die Festung Gerba erobert,
Piyale Pasha usw "

Beide Texte stimmen im allgemeinen in ihren Angaben über ein. Besonders wichtig ist, dass wir auch aus ihnen das genaue Datum November 1571 (981) erfahren, das uns erlaubt, diese Moschee chronologisch einzuordnen, und so stilkritisch zu betrachten. Die Baubeschreibungen zeigen uns, dass an der Moschee so gut wie nichts geändert worden ist. Leider sind Hamām, Medrese und Tekke nicht mehr erhalten. Im Hof vor der Moschee liegen eine ganze Anzahl von Säulen (in Form der Balkone und der Türbe) und Quader herum, vielleicht gibt hier ein Wiederherstellen des alten Hofniveaus Auskunft über die Lage und grundrissliche Gestaltung dieser Nebenbauten.

DIE PIYALE PASHA-MOSCHEE UND DIE OSMANISCHE BAUKUNST DES XVI. JAHRHUNDERTS

Bei der eigenartigen und von den anderen Moscheen Istanbuls stark abweichenden Raumgestaltung der Piyale Pasha-Moschee muss die Frage auftauchen, wie ein derartiger Bau zur höchsten Blütezeit osmanischer Baukunst in Istanbul entstehen konnte.

Alle Moscheen des grössten Meisters der Zeit, Sināns, sind nach byzantinischem Vorbild als Zentralkuppelbauten gegründet, ausgenommen die Bauten ohne gewölbte Dächer. Es wurden damals in Istanbul in etwa den 20 Jahren vor und nach der Piyale Pasha-Moschee folgende wichtige Moscheen gebaut (z.T. *Fig. 12*).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------|---------|
| 1. die Ibrahīm Pasha-Moschee (Sinān) | um 1551 |
| 2. die Zāl Maḥmud Pasha-Moschee (Sinān) | um 1551 |
| 3. die Aḥmed Pasha-Moschee (Sinān) | um 1551 |
| 4. die Sinān Pasha (Sinān) | um 1555 |

5. die Rüstem Pasha-Moschee (Sinān)	um 1561
6. die Sokulu Mehmet-Moschee (Sinān)	um 1571
7. die Azab Kapū-Moschee (Sinān)	um 1577
8. die Kiliç Alī Pasha Moschee (Sinān)	um 1589
9. die Eski Wālide-Moschee (Sinān)	um 1583
10. die Aywaz Efendi Moschee (Sinān)	um 1583
11. die Nishançī Mehmet Pasha-Moschee (Sinān)	um 1584 und
12. die Eski 'Alī Pasha-Moschee (Sinān)	um 1589.

Keine der angeführten 12 Moscheen, die sich alle im Gesamtbild irgendwie ähneln, ist auch nur annähernd so, wie die Piyale Pasha-Moschee aufgefasst. Alle eben erwähnten Bauten sind Zentralkuppelanlagen.

E. A. Grosvenor³¹ erklärt unsere Moschee ganz eigenartig. Er schreibt: "The great sailor disdained professional architects, and drew his own plans. So the general design is somewhat original and unique. It was his pet purpose that the mosque should resemble a ship. Architectural necessities forced him in many details to conform to prevalent custom. The minaret, however, is planted not as commonly at the side, but in the middle of the front, thereby to remind the admiral of his warship. It is entered, not from outside as elsewhere, but from the inside of the mosque. When the master-mason protested that no such arrangement had ever been seen, the Pasha swore roundly that in his mosque, at least, the muezzin should go up from the forecastle like a Moslem, and not scuttle from the gangway like a pirate. In his last days he himself used to climb to the gallery and imagine himself afloat.

"Nevertheless, the landsman recognizes little which suggests the sea. The front, nearly two hundred feet in length, is lined by a splendid portico of marble columns. The portico on the sides is supported by large square piers. So, instead of a grand central dome, as at Sancta Sophia, here are six equal domes, resting on marble columns fifty-two feet high. High around the walls is an inscription in white colors, not painted by a calligraphist, but wrought in rich blue tiling. . . ."

Piyale hat somit einflussreichen Anteil am Aussehen der Moschee gehabt, und wenn nur durch die geschickte Berufung eines ihm einigermaßen gefügigen Baumeisters. Da die Moschee grundrisslich so anders ist als die Bauten Sināns, kann wohl ziemlich bestimmt gesagt werden, dass dieser nicht ihr Meister war. Er hätte sich kaum dem Piyale so weitgehend gebeugt, wenn es auch zum besten der Moschee geschehen ist. Die Frage, wer wohl der Meister war, muss zunächst unbeantwortet bleiben. Vielleicht geben einmal die türkischen Archive Auskunft.

Darf man an die Arbeit eines europäischen Meisters denken? Bekannt ist, dass schon im 15. Jahrhundert Sultān Mehmet italienische Meister an seinen Hof berief. So waren neben Gentile Belini 1479 der venetianische Bildhauer Bartolosumeo Bellano und Bertoldo

³¹E. A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, London, 1895, Vol. II, p. 672.

Giovanni in Istanbul tätig. Vorher arbeitete der Modelleur Matteo de Pasti am Seraiy.³² Wulzinger erwähnt einmal, dass die Piyale Pasha-Moschee mutmasslich eine Nachahmung eines Baues aus der europäischen Heimat des Piyale sei.³³ Türkische Schriftsteller erwähnen, dass Piyale als Kind eines Schusters an den Hof kam,³⁴ sodass er kaum noch Erinnerungen an heimatliche Bauten gehabt haben dürfte, als er den Bau auszuführen beschloss; er müsste denn später in die Heimat zurückgekehrt sein, um sich zu unterrichten (?). Grosvenor (s. o.) erzählt aber, unzweideutig, dass Piyale Pasha eigenwillig seinen Baumeister zu einer Raumform zwang, die ihm ein Schiff vortäuschen konnte. Dass der Baumeister trotzdem im Rahmen dieser Aufgabe eigene Wege ging, zeigt das Bauwerk selbst am klarsten.

Doch glaubt man bei näherer Betrachtung des Baues eine ganze Anzahl Beziehungen zum Abendlande zu finden. Kannte der Meister die zweischiffigen Kloster- und Rittersäle? Man darf jedoch unseren Bau nicht mit einem zweischiffigen Langraum Europas vergleichen wollen. Die Piyale Pasha-Moschee ist dreischiffig, wenn man hier überhaupt von Schiffen reden darf. Warum befindet sich das Minäre an der Stelle, wo im Abendlande der Glockenturm steht? Ausnahmen kommen jedoch auch bei türkischen Bauten vor. Die Stellung des Minäre weist nach SO und nicht nach Westen. Eine Eigentümlichkeit der arabischen Hofmoscheen ist die genaue gegenüberstellung des Hauptminäres gegenüber dem Mihrāb an der Nordseite des Hofes. Diese Anordnung ist den Arabern so wichtig, dass sie bei anderer (türkischer) Bauweise ihre Verwunderung ausdrücken.³⁵ Bei unserer Moschee ist dieser Brauch ins Türkische übertragen mit dem Unterschied, dass das Minäre organisch mit dem Betraum verwachsen ist, und nicht gegenüber am Hofe steht. Istanbul besitzt noch ein zweites Beispiel in der al-Dīn *Djāmi'* in der Nähe der Oda Bashe *Djāmi'*, eine Moschee mit einem Minäre in der Mitte der Eingangsfassade. Bei dieser heute verfallenen Moschee führt der Eingang unter dem Minäre hindurch in den Moscheeraum. Grosvenor legt eine Erklärung für diese Anordnung in den Mund des Piyale selbst, doch fehlt uns bisher die alte Quelle, aus der Grosvenor geschöpft haben muss. Alle diese Fragen sind sehr wichtig für unseren Bau, denn sie könnten den Nachweis liefern, dass vielleicht auch abendländische Baumeister im 16. Jahrhundert orientalische Bauten beeinflussten oder gar ausführten. Nachbarbeispiele fehlen. Positive Beziehungen unseres Meisters zum Abendlande sind nicht erbracht. Also sind wir gezwungen, nach diesen missglückten Abschweifungen in den Bereich abendländischer Kirchenbaukunst näherliegendes Vergleichsmaterial im Morgenlande zu suchen. Die Ableitung der Minärestellung vom Osten wurde schon gemacht.

Yūsuf, Sināns Schüler, arbeitete in Delhi und Agra. Es bestanden demnach Verbindungen mit Indien, sodass es naheliegt einmal nachzuprüfen, ob etwa Indien Vorlagen lieferte.³⁶

³² C. Gurlitt, *a.a.O.*, S. 82 und E. Jacobs, *Die Mohammed-Medaille des Bertoldi*, Berlin, 1927.

³³ K. Wulzinger, *Die Pirus-Moschee zu Milas*, Karlsruhe, 1925.

³⁴ Duda, *a.a.O.*

³⁵ Wulzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt*, Berlin,

1924, S. 106.

³⁶ O. Reuther, *Indische Moscheen*, nicht veröffentlichtes MS., was mir der Author lebenswürdigerweise zur Verfügung stellte. Fr. Wetzel, *Islamische Grabbauten in Indien*, Leipzig, 1919, Abb. 35, 41, Blatt 54.

Indien hat eine ganze Reihe Moscheen, die man vielleicht zu den "Zweistützenmoscheen" rechnen könnte zu denen, wenn man so will, unsere Moschee auch gehört. (Reuther schlug einmal vor, ein System der Zweistützenmoscheen zu konstruieren, und die Piyale Moschee von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus stilkritisch zu untersuchen.) Es sind immer drei nebeneinander gereihte Kuppelquadrate, die nach dem Hofe zu offen sind, sodass tatsächlich zwei Stützen an dieser Stelle auftreten. Diese Anlagen sind aber derartig verschieden von der Piyale Pasha-Moschee, dass ein Vergleich hinfällig wird, sodass auch Indien als Einflussgebiet ausscheidet. Hier wird auch klar, dass man von einer "Zweistützenmoschee" nicht ausgehen darf. Zweistützenmoscheen gibt es überaus zahlreich: als Zentralkuppelbauten breiträumig oder langräumig, und auch mit Holzdecken, dass ich verzichte, nach diesem Gesichtspunkt eine Untersuchung durchzuführen. Ich nenne nur einige Beispiele. Im Istanbuler Bereich: 'Atik 'Alī Pasha Dj., Zindjirli Koyu Dj., Büyük Dj., in Üsküdar, in Baghdād die Moschee al-Khulefā, in Edirne die Huradis Dj., und die Üç-Shurfeli Dj., in Amasiya die Kara Mustafa Pasha Dj., in Magnisa die Khatuniye Dj., und in Tokat die Güdük Mināre Djāmi'.

Die vielstützigen Volksmoscheen Kleinasien bieten am meisten Vergleichsmöglichkeiten mit unserem Bau, sodass es wohl lohnt, auf sie näher einzugehen.

Sie sind Ableitungen der Hypostylmoscheen Syriens und Ägyptens. Hier im Norden zwang eine andere Witterung, die Hofmoscheen eng zusammenzudrängen und ganz zu bedachen. Ein einziges ungedecktes Geviert über dem Brunnen erinnert an den alten Hof. Als gutes Beispiel sei die Ulu Djāmi' in Brussa aus dem Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts erwähnt. Sie ist, wie alle früheren und späteren Vielstützenmoscheen unübersichtlich und unklar. Hierher gehören unter anderem die 'Alā al-Dīn Moschee in Konia (1209/10), die noch keine Kuppelindeckung hat, die Yarande-Moschee in Konia (1252) die Ulu Djāmi' zu Magnisa, die Djumā'ya in Philippopol und auch das jetzige Museum in Sofia; Weiter in Kayseri die Ulu Djāmi', die Lālā Pasha Djāmi', in Nigde die 'Alā al-Dīn Djāmi' und in Siwas die Ulu Djāmi'. Zu dicke und oft recht niedrige Pfeiler lassen eine einheitliche Raumwirkung nicht zu Stande kommen, die in der Piyale Pasha-Moschee durch die Mittelsäulen nicht behindert wird.

Der Baumeister unserer Piyale Moschee geht also bewusst auf frühtürkische (seldjüke) Bauwerke zurück und meidet die Zentralkuppelbauten Istanbuls. Der Piyale Pasha-Moschee verwandt ist auch die genau 200 Jahre ältere Yivli Djāmi' in Antalya.³⁷ Sechs Kuppeln ohne Fenster bilden die Decke, nur werden sie von Doppelbogen unterzogen, die weitere Säulen (antike Spolien) verlangen. So ähnelt der Raum eigentlich nur im Grundriss dem unserer Moschee. Dieses Beispiel führt uns dazu, die breiträumige Moscheen der Epoche der Piyale Pasha-Moschee mit letzterer zu vergleichen.

Auf Figur 12 sind 14 Istanbuler Moscheen aus reichlich einem Jahrhundert vereinigt. Sie sind alle breiträumig, aus Stein erbaut und mit Kuppeln überwölbt. Es fehlen nur noch

³⁷ R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 47.

im Plan die Findikli *Djāmi'* (Molla Čelebi *Djāmi'*) von Sinān (um 1580) und die Aywas Efendi *Djāmi'* aus dem Jahre 1584, die vielleicht auch Sinān zugeschrieben werden kann, deren beider Grundrisse zur Zeit nicht vermessen werden konnten. Es sind beides Bauwerke mit Zentralkuppeln über dem breitgelagerten Rechteck (etwa wie Sokullu Mehmet Paşa-Moschee) mit Apsiden. Wir erkennen auf der Tafel, dass nur die Mihr-Māh Moschee am Adrianopler Tor die Piyale Paşa-Moschee an Grösse übertrifft. Und sobald man den Innenraum betrachtet, hat sie mit unserer überhaupt nichts gemein. Die Seitenkuppeln bleiben ziemlich tief liegen, während die Zentralkuppel in kolossale Höhe hinauf ragt, sodass wir einen Kuppelquadratraum haben, an dem die Seitenräume angelehnt sind. In gleicher Weise scheiden noch eine ganze Reihe dieser Grundrisse im Vergleich mit der Piyale Paşa-Moschee aus, da ihre Räume eben keine Breiträume sind. Es sind das vor allem Zāl Maḥmud Paşa *Djāmi'* in Eyub, die Azabkapu *Djāmi'* und die Eski 'Alī Paşa *Djāmi'*. Ausgesprochene Breiträume dagegen sind die anderen Beispiele. Sie sind trotzdem der Piyale Paşa-Moschee wesensfremd; denn die Zentralkuppel verweist die im Raum stehenden Stützen, Pfeiler oder Säulen an die Seiten des Raumes. Sie macht den Mittelraum gross und weit, schränkt dafür aber die Seiten des Raumes ein, sodass zunächst nur des Zentrum mit der grossen Kuppel als einheitlicher Raum wirkt. Die grosse zusammenfassende Kiblawand stellt dann erst die Raumeinheit des Gesamtraumes für das Auge wieder her. Im 8. Jahrzehnt des XVI. Jahrhunderts führt dann Sinān die Apsis ein (zuerst in der Selimiye in Edirne) und zerstört damit die grosse Ruhe der Kiblawand, die nun nicht mehr als Einheit wirken kann.³⁸ Diese Apsis entsteht wohl aber nicht in Anlehnung an die christliche Kirche sondern ist wohl ein Zurückgreifen auf die Qa'a-förmigen Moscheen des frühosmanischen Zeit.³⁹

Die Piyale Paşa-Moschee vereinheitlicht durch die sechs gleichgrossen Kuppeln den Gesamtraum zu einer Halle, in der die Mittelsäulen noch mehr die Grösse des einheitlichen Raumes dokumentieren.

Die Wesensunterschiede zwischen unserer Piyale Paşa-Moschee und den anderen gleichaltrigen Bauten, die hier durch die Verwendung gleicher Ausdrucksmittel (Kuppel, Kuppelstütze und Wand) erreicht werden, stehen krass gegen einander und sind wohl der beste Beweis, dass an der Piyale Paşa-Moschee ein anderer Meister als Sinān tätig war. Unser Meister stand des alten islamischen Tradition auscheinend näher als der grosse Meister Sinān, der sich von ihr freigemacht hatte, um die kultischen Bedingungen des Islams mit den seldjūkischen und byzantinischen Traditionen zu einem Neuen, Ganzen zusammenzuschweissen, eben zur osmanischen Baukunst.

³⁸ K. Wulzinger, "Die Aposteltische und die Mehmedije zu Konstantinopel," *Byzantion*, VII, I, 1932, S. 7 f.

³⁹ Oskar Reuther, "Die Qa'a," *Jahrbuch der anatolischen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1925, II, 205–216.

DEUX PIÈCES DE CÉRAMIQUE ÉGYPTIENNE PAR GASTON WIET

LES FOUILLES EFFECTUÉES EN ÉGYPTÉ DÉVERSENT SANS ARRÊT DES TESSONS DE CÉRAMIQUE par monceaux. L'on connaît sous ce rapport l'opulence du Musée Arabe du Caire, qui s'est enrichi d'une prodigieuse abondance de fragments, d'origines les plus diverses, d'une variété de décoration des plus attachantes. En ce qui concerne les pièces les plus archaïques, l'épigraphie est d'une rare pauvreté: certains tessons de l'époque fātimide offrent, à plusieurs exemplaires, quelques signatures d'artistes, dont les plus fréquentes sont celles de Sa'd et de Muslim. Nous nous trouvons donc plongés dans le domaine de l'hypothèse: il est difficile de pousser très loin les identifications, autrement dit de distinguer les pièces importées, très nombreuses assurément, des morceaux qu'on voudrait attribuer à l'industrie locale.

Ainsi, à côté des problèmes de dates, la répartition et la classification géographique restent encore bien précaires, et c'est une entreprise imprudente que de chercher de trop grandes précisions. Nous n'avons pas la même chance qu'avec les tissus, qui nous ont livré de précieuses indications, des noms de souverains ou d'ateliers, ainsi que des dates.¹ Les pièces de cuivre signées par des artistes originaires de Mossoul sont aussi très nombreuses et quelques épigraphes nous renseignent sur les lieux de fabrication, Mossoul, Damas ou le Caire, fournissant également des dates.²

Mais, après G. Migeon et tant d'autres, j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de signaler combien nos recherches en matière de céramique restaient décevantes.

Dans une notice, empreinte d'une fine perspicacité, sur la céramique de Sāmarrā, Raymond Koechlin écrivait:³ "Quand le calife Mu'tasim quitta Bagdad pour s'installer dans la ville nouvelle qu'il faisait construire, bien vraisemblablement, suivant la coutume de toute l'Asie, y transporta-t-il les artisans nécessaires à son service et ceux-ci continuèrent sûrement à ouvrir comme ils en avaient l'habitude." Cette hypothèse géniale se trouve vérifiée par un texte précis d'un géographe arabe contemporain: "Le calife Mu'tasim," écrit Ya'kūbī, "fit venir de partout des spécialistes de tout ordre, des ouvriers habiles aux travaux de construction, des jardiniers sachant semer, planter aménager des palmeraies, des ingénieurs habiles à distribuer l'eau, à la mesurer, à capter les sources et à déceler leurs emplacements. C'est ainsi qu'il fit venir, entre autres, d'Égypte, des fabricants de papyrus; de Bassorah, des verriers, des potiers et des fabricants de nattes; de Kūfa, des potiers et des fabricants de couleurs."⁴

Ce texte est capital en ce sens qu'il nous fait comprendre le manque d'originalité des céramistes de Sāmarrā. L'on connaît cette poterie à décor lustré, jaune ou olivâtre, que des fouilles ont mises au jour, à Rayy, à Sāmarrā et à Fustāṭ, ce qui n'est pas pour simplifier le

¹ Cf. "Tissus et tapisseries du Musée arabe," *Syria*, XVI, pp. 278 ss. Cette étude a fait l'objet d'une communication au Congrès international des Orientalistes de Rome, en Septembre 1935.

² Cf. G. Wiet, "Exposition d'art persan," *Syria*, XIII,

pp. 78-79.

³ "A propos de la céramique de Samarra," *Syria*, VII, p. 242; "Les céramiques de Suse," *Syria*, IX, p. 43.

⁴ Ya'kūbī, p. 262; trad. G. Wiet, p. 57 (sous presse).

problème. D'accord avec R. Koechlin et G. Migeon, nous pensions qu'il était possible de mettre un peu d'ordre: Fustât a été influencé par Sāmarrā, sous les Ṭūlūnides; Sāmarrā fut une fondation artificielle, de courte durée d'ailleurs (836-889), et les potiers y vinrent sans doute de Kūfa et de Bassorah, où ils s'étaient installés, depuis l'avènement des 'Abbāsides, en provenance de Rayy très probablement.⁵

Présentement nous n'avons pas à nous occuper de la Perse: nous avons voulu simplement indiquer notre manière de voir sur une question controversée.

Il est acquis que la céramique attribuée à l'époque ṭūlūnide s'apparente à celle de Sāmarrā:⁶ à cela rien d'étonnant, puisque Ibn Ṭūlūn avait passé ses jeunes années à Sāmarrā. Les vestiges de la mosquée de la ville de plaisance mésopotamienne nous font constater, après les historiens, que la mosquée d'Ibn Ṭūlūn est, au moins dans sa décoration, la réplique du sanctuaire califien. Il ne peut y avoir là qu'un souci prémédité d'imitation.⁷

Une fois de plus nous assistons à la marche vers l'ouest, qui est une règle quasi-immuable, pour la diffusion des idées, des modes, des techniques, qui, presque toutes, parties de la Perse, se sont répandues non sans quelque retard dans le bassin de la Méditerranée et ont pénétré jusqu'en Andalousie.

Ceci dit, nous sommes à l'aise pour combattre une thèse excessive. "Fostat," écrit Pézard,⁸ est un véritable cimetière de toute la céramique orientale, et une pièce qui y est mise au jour n'est nullement identifiée par ce fait; un art propre à Fostat n'apparaît guère avant le X^e siècle." Bien au contraire, après R. Koechlin⁹ "nous n'aurions garde de ne pas estimer à sa valeur l'apport égyptien."

Ce sont précisément deux documents égyptiens qui viennent d'être découverts au cours de l'hiver dernier. Les deux bols que nous étudions ici sortent d'un atelier égyptien, et, par le nom qu'il porte, l'un d'eux procure une date. Ainsi, nous l'espérons, on va pouvoir se permettre d'agréger une série, de résoudre des problèmes de chronologie, de leur comparer des pièces signées des deux grands céramistes égyptiens de l'époque fāṭimide, Sa'd et Muslim.

La première pièce est un bol de faïence à reflets métalliques, d'un ton jaune olivâtre:¹⁰ elle appartient à la collection de S. E. le Dr. Aly Pacha Ibrahim (*Fig. 1*).

Elle est pourvue d'une décoration largement traitée, dont les parties réservées, d'une bonne importance, sont là pour donner un puissant relief et viennent rappeler les sculptures

⁵ G. Wiet, "Exposition d'art persan," *Syria*, XIII, p. 82.

⁶ Zaky M. Hassan, *Les Toulounides*, pp. 241, 310-312.

⁷ L. Hauteœur et G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris, 1933, p. 24; *Précis d'histoire d'Égypte*, Cairo, 1932, II, p. 157.

⁸ M. Pézard, *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam*, Paris, 1920, p. 44.

⁹ "La céramique de Suse," *Syria*, IX, p. 44.

¹⁰ Couleur à peu près semblable à la pièce reproduite dans A. J. Butler, *Islamic Pottery*, London, 1926, Pl. IX, B.

sur bois de la même époque, à défoncement profond. Il y a là l'apparence d'un modelé vigoureux.

Le motif principal est un éléphant: l'animal ou l'être humain restent à cette période l'élément le plus fréquent de la décoration céramique. Les fleurs servant d'accompagnement, aussi bien que le fond, qu'il soit réservé, comme ici, ou qu'il soit pointillé, suivant une mode, habituelle aussi, sont destinés à donner de la valeur au sujet essentiel, qui domine l'ensemble par sa prodigieuse dimension.

Les lobes gracieusement recourbés des feuilles viennent amenuiser l'impression générale: les quelques feuilles que nous rencontrons sont lancéolées, et la feuille centrale se termine en pointe très fine et recourbée.¹¹

L'éléphant se présente d'un air nonchalant, dans une posture naturelle, mais il est campé noblement, sans bavardage inutile. Il couvre à peu près tout le fond. D'un style rude, au dessin très aigu, cet éléphant est conçu avec un réalisme, une barbarie même, qui n'est pas sans grandeur. La queue de l'animal est ridiculement demesurée, et la puissante encolure de la bête est surmontée d'une toison inattendue, d'un aspect fendillé assez hétéroclite. Les défenses sont curieusement rectilignes et très longues, en comparaison avec les autres représentations du même animal. L'œil est traité de la façon schématique dont les artistes le comprenaient alors: un cercle réservé dans lequel est inscrit, et plus ou moins centré, un point noir.¹²

L'éléphant n'est pas fréquemment représenté, aux époques primitives, dans l'art musulman:¹³ on connaît l'admirable tissu de Saint-Josse,¹⁴ un ivoire omeyyade d'Espagne,¹⁵ quelques miniatures,¹⁶ des bois fātimides.¹⁷

Sur la céramique même l'éléphant est assez rare. Nous connaissons: un bol du Musée du Louvre;¹⁸ un bol de la collection Allan Balch;¹⁹ un plat de la collection Kelekian;²⁰ un

¹¹ Aly Bahgat et F. Massoul, *La céramique musulmane de l'Égypte*, Cairo, 1930, Pl. XXIII, n° 7 bis.

¹² Aly Bahgat et F. Massoul, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV, XII, XV, XVI, XXIII.

¹³ Nous ne saurions oublier les éléphants des bas-reliefs de Ṭāk-i-Bustān (F. Sarre, *Art de la Perse ancienne*, Pl. 96), ni ceux des objets d'art de la Perse antique (*Atlas d'argenterie orientale*, Pl. LXVIII, CXX).

¹⁴ *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, IV, n° 1507.

¹⁵ J. Ferrandis, *Marfiles y azabacheos españoles*, Barcelona, 1928, Pl. XII.

¹⁶ Nous n'avons fait des recherches que pour les miniatures des premières époques: F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting*, London, 1912, Pl. 17, 22, 41; T. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford, 1928, Pl. XII; E.

Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, London, 1929, Pl. XXI, XLII; A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, Paris, 1929, Pl. XVII; G. Wiet, *Album de l'exposition persane du Caire*, Pl. 59; I. Stchoukine, "Les manuscrits illustrés musulmans de la bibliothèque du Caire," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1935, p. 148, Fig. 5.

¹⁷ M. Herz Pacha, "Boiseries fatimites," *Orientalisches Archiv*, III, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 18.

¹⁸ G. Migeon, *L'Orient musulman, cristaux de roche*, Paris, 1922, Pl. 29; G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris, 1927, 2^e éd., II, p. 199, Fig. 351; R. Koechlin et G. Migeon, *Cent planches d'art musulman*, Pl. XV; E. Kühnel, *Islam. Kleinkunst*, Berlin, 1925, p. 97, Fig. 59.

¹⁹ A. U. Pope, *Introduction to Persian Art*, London, 1930, Fig. 35.

²⁰ *The Kelekian Collection*, Pl. 29.



FIG. 1—BOL DE FAÏENCE À REFLETS MÉTALLIQUES
LE CAIRE, COLLECTION ALY PACHA IBRAHIM



FIG. 2—REVERS DU BOL À L'ÉLÉPHANT

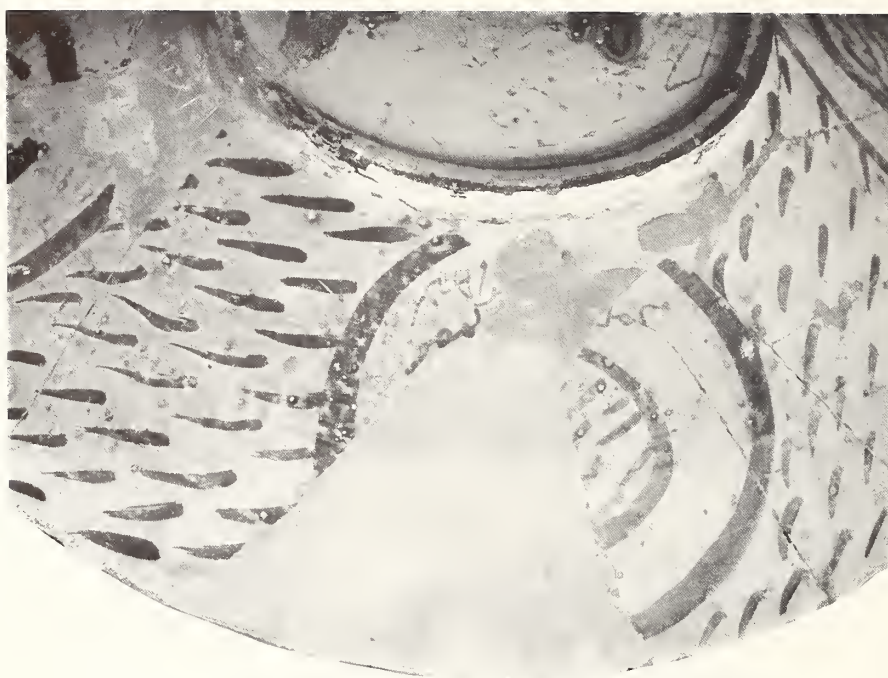


FIG. 3—CERCLE AVEC INSCRIPTION SUR LE REVERS DU BOL À L'ÉLÉPHANT



FIG. 4—FRAGMENTS D'UN PLAT
LE CAIRE, MUSÉE ARABE

bol de la collection Engel-Gros, puis Paravicini, puis Nahman;²¹ un bol de la Freer Gallery.²²

Le bord de la pièce est décoré d'une frise de segments de cercles tangents, disposés en festons. Ce genre d'ornementation se prolongera jusqu'à la période fātimide.²³

Sur le revers, l'artiste a satisfait à une mode et s'est efforcé de plaire à sa clientèle en ne s'écartant pas d'une décoration habituelle à cette époque. Sur un fond couvert d'un semis de touches de pinceau, négligemment distribuées, se détachaient quatre doubles cercles concentriques; l'un d'eux a disparu dans la cassure. L'anneau extérieur a été laissé sans décoration. Ce style se poursuivra également jusque sous les Fātimides.²⁴

C'est, en somme, un magnifique échantillon d'une abondante série, dans laquelle nous dénombrons, sans faire la distinction entre les céramiques de Rayy, de Sāmarrā ou de Fustāṭ:

Musicien: collection Vignier, puis Pottier, puis Aly Pacha Ibrahim²⁵

Personnage assis: collection Kelekian²⁶

Personnage assis: collection Aly Pacha Ibrahim (inédit)

Personnage tenant un drapeau: collection Alphonse Kann²⁷

Personnage debout: collection Demotte²⁸

Personnage assis: collection Parish-Watson²⁹

Quadrupède: collection Tabbagh³⁰

Cerf: collection Vignier³¹

Colombe: collection Eumorfopoulos³²

Oiseau à long col et à grande aigrette: collection Kelekian³³

Griffon: collection Vignier³⁴

Chèvre sauvage: collection Vignier³⁵

Chamelle allaitant son petit: Musée du Louvre³⁶

²¹ Ganz, *L'œuvre d'un amateur d'art*, Pl. 16; G. Wiet, *Album de l'exposition d'art persan du Caire*, Cairo, 1935, Pl. 28.

²² M. Aga-Oglu, "A Minai Bowl," *Burlington Magazine*, May 1933, p. 208. Nous ne nous sommes attaché qu'aux pièces de forme antérieures au XIV^e siècle. Le Musée arabe possède trois tessons d'époque mamlouke, représentant un éléphant, les nos. 12598/1 (Cleves Stead, *Fantastic Fauna*, Cairo, 1935, Pl. 170), 6192 et 13142.

²³ *La céramique égyptienne de l'époque musulmane*, Pl. 11, 12, 25; M. Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCVIII, CII, CXV, CXVI, CXVII, CXVIII, CXX, CXXII, CXXIV, CXXV, CXXVI, CXXXVII et pp. 123, 130; R. Koechlin et G. Migeon, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII.

²⁴ Aly Bahgat et F. Massoul, *op. cit.*, Pl. H, Fig. 53, et voir Pl. XVI, n° 5 bis.

²⁵ R. Grousset, *Civilisations de l'Orient*, Paris 1929, I, p. 157, Fig. 124; R. Koechlin et G. Migeon, *op. cit.*, Pl. I; M. Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXVII; G. Wiet, *Album de l'exposition d'art persan du Caire*, Cairo, 1935,

Pl. 25; *Collection de R(ené) P(ottier)*, Cat. de vente, n° 132.

²⁶ S. Flury, "Une formule archaïque," *Syria*, V, Pl. XXI; G. Migeon, *Manuel*, 2^e éd., II, p. 168, Fig. 321.

²⁷ M. Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXIV.

²⁸ M. Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXVIII.

²⁹ A. U. Pope, *op. cit.*, Fig. 28.

³⁰ *Catalogue de la coll. Tabbagh*, Pl. I, n° 32.

³¹ R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, I, p. 158, Fig. 124 bis; *Ausstellung Iranische Kunst*, Zurich, 1936, p. 31.

³² *The Listener*, décembre 1930, suppl., p. iv.

³³ M. Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXVIII.

³⁴ M. Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXIX.

³⁵ M. Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXXIV.

³⁶ R. Koechlin et G. Migeon, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI; E. Kühnel, "Islam. Kunst," *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 397, Fig. 389; G. Migeon, *Manuel*, 2^e éd., II, p. 192, Fig. 340; A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLIII; G. Migeon, *Les arts musulmans*, Pl. LVI; C. Vignier, "Exposition d'art oriental," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, 1925, Pl. XII.

Deux chameaux: collection Parish-Watson³⁷

Lièvre et guépard: collection Alphonse Kann³⁸

Scène de chasse avec oiseau et chien: collection Vignier³⁹

Deux bovidés affrontés⁴⁰

Trois oiseaux: collection Tabbagh⁴¹

Quatre oiseaux: Staatliche Museen, Berlin⁴²

Cinq quadrupèdes: collection Parish-Watson⁴³

Galère: Musée arabe du Caire⁴⁴

Galère: collection Vignier⁴⁵

Vase: collection Kelekian⁴⁶

Combinaison florale: collection Kelekian⁴⁷

Sur le revers de la pièce à l'éléphant, deux inscriptions doivent retenir notre attention (Fig. 2). C'est d'abord, au centre, un mot de deux lettres qui s'étale au milieu même du bol. La lecture n'en est pas douteuse: on déchiffre sans peine: *ṣahha*. Le mot se rencontre sur d'autres pièces de faïence, et Aly Bey Bahgat et F. Massoul ont cru devoir le traduire par une expression de triomphe: "J'ai réussi." Mon vénéré prédécesseur s'est laissé entraîner par la joie légitime que lui procuraient ses fouilles. J'estime qu'il faut descendre un peu sur la terre et voir ici la simple mention d'un "bon à tirer," nous dirions en l'occurrence: "bon à cuire."⁴⁸

Nous lisons enfin ce texte capital dans un des cercles: عمل (أ) براهميم . . . بمصر
'amal . . . [I]brāhīm . . . bi-Miṣr, "Œuvre de . . . [I]brāhīm . . . à Miṣr" (Fig. 3).

A vrai dire, ce n'est pas la première fois que l'on rencontre le nom de Miṣr sur une faïence. Le Dr. Fouquet a lu 'amal fī Miṣr sana . . . , "fait à Miṣr, en l'année . . . ,"⁴⁹ sur un fond de plat "à pâte siliceuse, à gros grain d'un blanc grisâtre, recouverte d'un émail stannique blanc bleuté. Le fond est occupé par un lièvre passant, entouré de bouquets de forme étrange, de points, de dessins dans lesquels des blancs ont été produits par enlèvement." La forme des lettres est très archaïque et "peut être rapportée au IX^e siècle ou au X^e siècle au plus tard."⁵⁰

³⁷ Loan Exhibition of Mohammedan Decorative Arts, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1930, p. 58, n° 69; Burlington Magazine, suppl. à décembre 1930, Pl. 27.

³⁸ M. Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXXII.

³⁹ M. Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXXI.

⁴⁰ H. Glück et E. Diez, *Islam. Kunst*, p. 395; E. Kühnel, "Die 'Abbasidischen Lüsterfayencen," *Ars Islamica*, I, p. 156, Fig. 7.

⁴¹ Catalogue de la coll. Tabbagh, Pl. I, n° 32.

⁴² E. Kühnel, *Islam. Kleinkunst*, p. 77, Fig. 36; E. Kühnel, "Die 'Abbasidischen Lüsterfayencen," *loc. cit.*, Fig. 6.

⁴³ Illustrated Souvenir of Exhibition of Persian Art, London, 1931, p. 53.

⁴⁴ G. Wiet, *L'Art Vivant*, janvier 1929, p. 51; Clerget,

Le Caire, II, Pl. 14; G. Wiet, *Album du Musée arabe*, Pl. 61; *Art of Egypt*, ed. Sir E. D. Ross, London, 1931, p. 332.

⁴⁵ M. Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXX.

⁴⁶ M. Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXXVI.

⁴⁷ M. Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXVIII.

⁴⁸ Aly Bahgat et F. Massoul, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁴⁹ Mal traduit: "au Caire."

⁵⁰ D. M. Fouquet, *Contribution à l'étude de la céramique orientale*, Cairo, 1900, p. 97-98 et Pl. XIII, Fig. 5; cf. G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, 1ère éd., p. 275. Plus loin, le Dr. Fouquet signale un fragment de bol de l'époque mamlouke sur lequel se lit encore le nom de Miṣr (p. 106): aucune reproduction.

Il est regrettable que le revers du tesson n'ait pas été reproduit, pour nous permettre de contrôler cette importante lecture. En tout cas, d'après la décoration, cette pièce ne peut être antérieure à la période fāṭimide (fin du X^e, ou mieux XI^e siècle). Le bol a l'éléphant conserve donc sa valeur, puisque, par son style, il s'apparente nettement à l'art de la fin du IX^e siècle.

Les autres fragments procurent une satisfaction d'un autre ordre. On sait que les pièces de céramique, quelle qu'en soit la beauté, sont, à quelques exceptions près, anonymes. Nous ne connaissons jusqu'à ce jour qu'un fond de vase au nom d'un prince ayyoubide de Ḥomṣ, mort en 1240, et un plat, daté de 1210, inscrit au nom d'un prince persan qui reste à identifier.⁵¹

Il s'agit d'un plat du Musée arabe du Caire. Nous n'en possédons que de petits fragments, mais il n'est pas impossible de reconstituer l'ensemble: il mesurait environ 52 centimètres de diamètre sur 13 de hauteur (*Fig. 4*).

Il comporte une décoration par secteurs rayonnants, ornés de rinceaux d'une rare perfection. C'est un procédé qui rappelle les claustra, à la mode en Egypte depuis Ibn Ṭūlūn. C'est une décoration florale, éminemment fantaisiste. Nous y voyons des fleurs en forme de panse de flacon, effilée au sommet, avec un lobe de chaque côté, et d'où partent un peu au-dessus une feuille trilobée ou bilobée.⁵² Ces fleurons latéraux sont donc à deux ou trois lobes: l'un d'eux se termine en pointe effilée, et, à l'intérieur, un autre s'incurve en forme de crochet. Lorsqu'il y en a trois, le lobe central est arrondi comme une boule.

Sur le marli se déroulait une longue inscription circulaire, en coufique simple: un fragment seul a subsisté, suffisant pour nous donner un nom propre, attestant une fabrication égyptienne. Nous lisons: وعلى ابائه (الله) بامر (ال) حاكم, [al-]Ḥākīm bi-amr [Allāh] . . . , et plus loin: wa-'ala abaihi a . . . ce qui nous permet de traduire: "[al-]Ḥākīm bi-amr [Allah, que les bénédictions de Dieu soient sur lui] et sur ses ancêtres . . ." ⁵³

Les caractères sont d'une noble élégance: les sommets des hampes se terminent en biseau, parfois légèrement incurvé: ce qui est particulièrement exceptionnel, c'est que nous voyons quelques signes diacritiques.

Evidemment, l'idée d'un cadeau offert au calife n'est pas exclue, mais l'Égypte possédait alors (avant 1021) des faïenciers de grand talent, et il est vraisemblable de leur attribuer la paternité de ce plat.

⁵¹ G. Wiet, "Exposition d'art persan," *Syria*, XIII, p. 81; G. Wiet, *L'exposition de 1931*, p. 34.

⁵² Cf. *La céramique égyptienne*, Pl. 31 en haut.

⁵³ Publiée dans le *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, VI, n° 2309.

THREE HERALDIC BRONZES FROM PALERMO BY L. A. MAYER

THE ISLAMIC WORKS OF ART KEPT IN THE MUSEO NAZIONALE IN PALERMO HAVE BEEN studied by several Italian scholars, particularly by Lanci,¹ Amari² and Mortillaro,³ who have published many of them in the course of the last century. By some curious chance a number of objects with heraldic shields escaped their attention, and, so far as I am aware, they still remain unpublished. As one of them is of considerable interest, both from the point of view of Mamluk heraldry and our knowledge of Saracenic metal-work, I venture to submit all three to the readers of *ARS ISLAMICA*.⁴

(1)

Bronze dish, No. 2143 (*Figs. 1, 2*).

BLAZON: *Cup on middle field of a three-fielded shield.*

Main inscription (A) intersected by three circular inscriptions (B) each containing a shield; in the centre of the plate another circular inscription (C) with a shield.

برسم المقر الكريم العالی المولوی المالکی ا (B) لامیری الکبیری الغازی المجاهدی المرباطی
المثاغری (B) الموءیدی الفیائی الهمامی الذخر الحسامی لاجین ادم عزه

(A) For His Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Royal, the Great Amīr, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Helped by God, the Rescuer, the Shelter, the Treasure, Ḥusām ad-dīn Lājīn, may (God) make his glory last for ever.

برسم المقر الكريم العالی المولوی الامیری الکبیری المجاهدی المرباطی الحسامی لاجین ادم عزه

(B) For His Noble and High Excellency, our Lord, the Great Amīr, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, Ḥusām ad-dīn Lājīn, may (God) make his glory last for ever.

(C) is identical with (B), except for the last few words missing in (C).

Apart from Sābiq ad-dīn Lājīn al-‘Imādī,⁵ all Lājīns, who played an important rôle in the history of the Mamluk Empire, were called Ḥusām ad-dīn. Some of them having been dubbed amirs before the accession of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn,⁶ are ruled out by the very form of the heraldic shield before us;⁷ others died before they had climbed high enough to be

¹ *Trattato delle simboliche rappresentanze*, Vol. II, pp. 22 ff., 78 ff., 203 ff.

² *Centenario*, pp. lxxxii, No. 154, civ, No. 286, lxxxv, No. 176.

³ *Opere*, Vol. III, pp. 205 ff., 232 ff., 238 ff., 241 f.

⁴ It is a pleasant duty to thank Prof. Paolino Mingazzini and his staff for all the facilities given me when studying the Oriental section of the Museo Nazionale in Palermo, and for the permission to publish several objects with Arabic inscriptions.

⁵ Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal aṣ-ṣāfi*, s.v. (ed. Wiet, No. 1933).

⁶ Lājīn al-‘Azizī (died 662); Lājīn Aidumūrī (died 672); Lājīn ‘Aintābī (died 681); Sulṭān Lājīn (died 698); Lājīn ar-Rūmī (died 702); Lājīn adh-Dhahabī (born 659); Lājīn al-Azharī (died 714 as centenarian).

⁷ The emblem would have been displayed either on an undivided shield, or on the bigger field of a shield divided into two parts of unequal size.

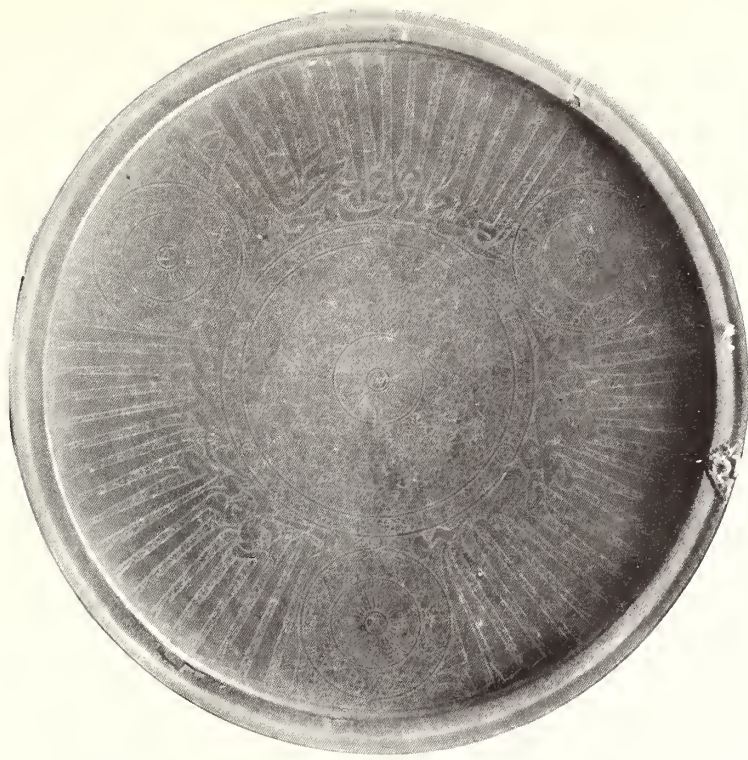


FIG. 1—BRONZE DISH, NO. 2143
PALERMO, MUSEO NAZIONALE



FIG. 2—MAIN INSCRIPTION OF BRONZE DISH, NO. 2143



FIG. 3—SMALL CYLINDRICAL BRONZE BOX
No. 1676 RE, PALERMO, MUSEO NAZIONALE



FIG. 4—INSCRIPTION OF SMALL CYLINDRICAL
BRONZE BOX, No. 1676 RE



FIG. 5—LID OF SMALL CYLINDRICAL
BRONZE BOX, No. 1676 RE



FIG. 6—BRONZE BOWL, PALERMO, MUSEO NAZIONALE

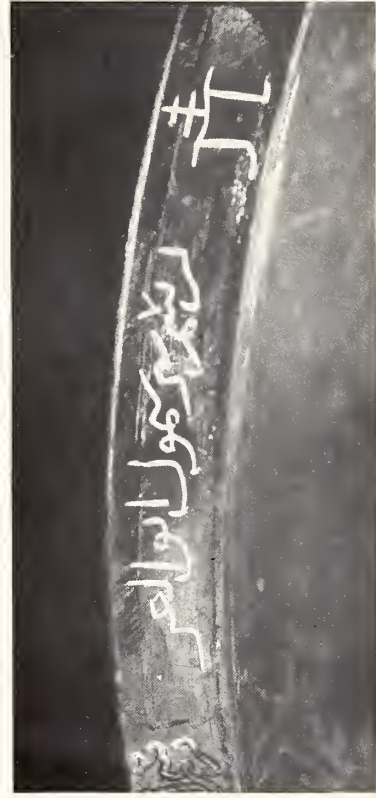


FIG. 7—INSCRIPTION OF BRONZE BOWL

entitled to the protocol given to our Lājīn;⁸ of those who reached the higher ranks of the amirate, many were too insignificant to have the first steps of their respective careers recorded,⁹ and we have no means of verifying what the coat of arms implies, viz., that he was a cup-bearer at the time he became amir.¹⁰ Among the numerous Lājīns to be considered there is, therefore, not a single one who could, with a clear conscience, be identified with the amir for whom this dish was made, so that for all practical purposes it is anonymous.

DATE: As the oldest Mamluk coat of arms displaying a cup on the middle field of a three-fielded shield was granted in, or shortly before, 719,¹¹ and the latest some time before 786,¹² the chances are that this box was made within these dates. But this is an exceptionally difficult case: a coat of arms of a type which—but for one exception—was longer in vogue than any other, and an amir, who had unusually numerous namesakes. Presently we shall see that, as a rule, heraldry is more helpful than that.

(2)

Small cylindrical bronze box, No. 1676 RE (*Figs. 3, 4, 5*).

BLAZON: *Upper field self-coloured*,¹³ *on the red united middle and lower fields a self-coloured*¹⁴ *napkin*.

A heraldic shield appears in the centre of the lid; the inscription is on the body and runs as follows:

مما عمل برسم الجنب العالی المولوی الامیری المخدمی ملک الجمدار الملکی الناصری

This is one of the objects made for His High Excellency (*janāb*), our Lord, the Amīr, the Well-Served, Bulak, the master of the robes (*jamdār*) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.

The name Bulak, with no dots in the original, can naturally be read Tulak and Yalak. Fortunately, among the several namesakes there is only one amir who was jamdār and, therefore, comes into consideration, and this is our amir. The name of Saif ad-dīn Bulak,¹⁵ jamdār of al-Malik an-Nāṣir, is found for the first time in historical records¹⁶ under the

⁸ Lājīn al-Ibrāhīmī (died 729); Lājīn al-Ghaimī (died 734); Lājīn al-Badrī (died 739); Lājīn al-Ḥamawī (died 746); Lājīn al-ʿAlāʾī (died 749); Lājīn aṣ-Ṣafadī (ustādār of Manjak); Lājīn al-Jarkasī (died 804).

⁹ Lājīn an-Nāṣirī (died 751); Lājīn al-Manṣūrī (died 729).

¹⁰ The only Lājīn whose term of office as cupbearer is recorded in texts within my reach is Lājīn aṣ-Ṣāḥirī (*Manhal* s.v., ed. Wiet, No. 1938) who died in 854, much too late to be possibly identical with our Lājīn.

¹¹ Turjī, cf. my *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 240.

¹² Aljāy, cf. *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 58.

¹³ The present writer has coined the term "self-coloured" to indicate all cases, in which the colour of the field (or emblem) is identical with the natural colour of the material on which a given coat of arms is displayed,

cf. *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 29, n. 1.

¹⁴ As the ground prepared for incrustation is always roughened, as shown most clearly on the letters which originally were all covered with silver, whereas the surface of the upper field and the emblem of this coat of arms are quite smooth, the latter must be described as "self-coloured" instead of as "of unknown colour."

¹⁵ Spelling indicated in words in Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *ad-Durar al-kāmina* s.v. (ed. Hyderabad, I, p. 495, No. 1346), and in vowel signs in Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, 186, l. 4, 219, l. 21.

¹⁶ A biography of Bulak will be found in *Durar*, l.c.; Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr* s.v. (MS. Berlin, fo. 42 v); L. A. Mayer, *Zum Titelblatt der Automata-Miniaturen* (in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1932, col. 166); Zetterstéen ll. cc. supra.

events of the year 733 A.H. (1333 A.D.), when he brought to Cairo the news of the successful pilgrimage of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Qalāūn; in 740 he accompanied Bashtāk to Damascus in connection with the arrest of Tankiz; in 741 went to Mecca for the second time. Under al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismaʿīl, he became governor of Ṣafad, in Rabīʿ II 746 (August 1345) was recalled to Egypt and promoted to the rank of an Amir of a Hundred. In Ramaḍān 749 (December 1348)¹⁷ he fell a victim to the plague in Cairo. His son Aḥmad married the granddaughter of Baybars al-Aḥmadī in 740.¹⁸

DATE: The *terminus ad quem* for this box is the 6th June, 1341, the day of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn's death, as subsequent to it Bulak would not have called himself al-Malikī an-Nāṣirī and *janāb*. The *terminus a quo* is the date of his being raised to the status of an amir. This date is not recorded in any chronicle available to me, but it must have occurred after Muḥarram 733, as, at that time, Bulak was not an amir yet.¹⁹ On the other hand, he must have been dubbed amir shortly afterwards. Therefore, the box was made approximately between 1333 (or thereabouts) and 1341.

(3)

Bronze bowl, originally with silver and gold incrustation, of which adequate traces are still left (*Figs. 6, 7*).

Inscription on body:

عز لمولانا السلطان الملك الناصر العا ○ لم العامل الغازى المجاهد المرباط المثاغر ا ○ لموئيد المنصور
ناصر الدنيا والدين قاتل الكفرة وا ○ لمشركين محبى العدل في العالمين محمد بن قلاون الصالحى ○

Glory to our Lord, the Sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir, the Learned, the Governing, the Vanquisher, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Helped by God, the Victorious, Nāṣir ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn, Killer of unbelievers and polytheists, Restorer of justice in the worlds, Muḥammad, son of Qalāūn aṣ-Ṣāliḥī.

Above the inscription, on the outer wall of the rim, in good calligraphy, with wide spaces between the sections:

برسم السيد شمس الدين محمد | ابن السيد شهاب الدين احمد | ابن السيد شرف الدين | عيسى الجعفرى غفر له

- (1) For the Lord (*Sayyid*) Shams ad-dīn Muḥammad
- (2) Son of the Lord Shihāb ad-dīn Aḥmad
- (3) Son of the Lord Sharaf ad-dīn
- (4) 'Isā al-Ja'farī. May he be forgiven.

Between 1 and 4 the following five words are engraved in bad scribbling:

برسم ستر سمول ابو العز

¹⁷ According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, *an-Nujūm az-zāhira* V. 95, l. 20 ff. (where Bulak should be read instead of Tulak), he died the 24th Shawwāl (14th January, 1349).

¹⁸ Zetterstéen, *op. cit.*, p. 206, l. 16.

¹⁹ Zetterstéen, *op. cit.*, p. 186, l. 4.

For the consort of Sumūl Abu-l-'Izz and to their right a coat of arms, more easily depicted (*Fig. 7*) than described. It is this inscription that lends special interest to this bowl, as it enables us to date very closely indeed not only the bowl under discussion, but another, and more famous one, which has been known to us for many years. The latter was first published by F. R. Martin,²⁰ subsequently by Sarre,²¹ by Migeon²² and, finally, by myself.²³ The coat of arms is the same and the historical part of the inscription on this bowl shows merely a slight change as compared with the Palermo bowl:

مما عمل برسم سمون ابو العز

This is one of the objects made for Sumūn Abu-l-'Izz.

Neither Mittwoch, who has published the inscriptions of Sarre's collection, nor Van Berchem, who was the epigraphist of the Munich Exhibition, nor myself, ventured to transcribe the name, let alone discuss it. The letters were very clear, but their combination unsatisfactory; the most legible words seemed to be *bi-rasm al-abwāb* "for the gates" (metaphorically for "for the palace"), a reading so obvious that it crossed every suggestion and what was left, could only be understood as a name like Samwān, Samwāb, Samwāt, or Shamwān, Shamwāb, Shamwāt.

But no amir of such name could be found in any contemporary chronicle, whether printed or in manuscript, and all attempts to trace him failed. It was only the Palermo bowl which furnished the clue.

In several chronicles we find under the events of the years 707, 709 and 710 an amir, a brother of Salār, whose name must have presented considerable difficulties to the spellers of his day.²⁴ In Muḥarram 707 (July 1307), Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, wearied of the tutelage of Baybars and Salār, sulked for a few days and refused to sign state papers. The two amirs succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation, but staged a revolt, in the course of which Saif ad-dīn Sumūl was put in charge of the mamluks standing on guard against the Sultān, and slightly wounded by an arrow shot by one of the Sultānian mamluks.²⁵ When in the course of the following year Mughultāy and Ṭuḡhtāy, after conspiring against the life of Baybars II fled to Muḥammad b. Qalāūn in Kerak, our amir pursued them in so leisurely a fashion,

²⁰ *Ältere Kupferarbeiten aus dem Orient*, Pls. II, III.

²¹ *Erzeugnisse islamischer Kunst*, Teil I. *Metall*, p. 30 ff., Pl. VIII.

²² *Manuel d'art musulman* (2nd ed.), Vol. II, Figs. 245, 246, p. 67.

²³ *Saracenic Heraldry*, Pl. LII, 2.

²⁴ سمون سمول شمول سمرک سموک سک شک The last two forms occur—among other texts—also side by side in one manuscript, viz. Ar. 1783 of the Bibliothèque

Nationale in Paris, where fo. 55^v we read *Sumuk* and fo. 70^r *Shumuk*. I am indebted to Prof. W. Popper, University of California, for having drawn my attention to these two passages.

²⁵ Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi-l-Faḍā'il, *Histoire de Sultans Mamluks* (in *Patrologia Orientalis*, Vol. XX), p. 130 [636]; Maqrīzī, *Sultans Mamlouks*, trsl. Quatremère, II b, p. 274.

possibly owing to a hint of Salār, that they escaped safely.²⁶ On the 6th Rabī' I 710 (3rd August 1310), he was arrested,²⁷ and subsequently his name no longer figures in the chronicles.

DATE: The *terminus ad quem* for this inscription (which is the latest of the three) is August 1310, the *terminus a quo* for the Sultānian invocation (which is the oldest) the day of Muḥammad's first accession, viz. 14th December 1293; both bowls, therefore, must have been made some time between these two dates.

²⁶ Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, IV. 287 and n. 2, according to Ibn Taghrībirdī and Maqrīzī.

²⁷ Zetterstéen, p. 152, l. 15; Mufaḍḍal, *op. l.*, p. 179 [685].

A NOTE ON FRONTALITY IN NEAR EASTERN ART

BY C. HOPKINS

THE SHIFT FROM THE PROFILE VIEW TO FRONTALITY IN THE RELIEFS AND PAINTINGS OF the East is perhaps the most striking artistic change in the centuries after the death of Alexander. As a rule in the period before Alexander the eastern artist portrayed both head and feet in profile. Gilgamesh and some of the demons may be portrayed full front; the torso of other figures is often represented frontally; but in general the head and feet of gods and men obstinately retain the profile view. The change, therefore, is particularly striking, especially since eastern art was so conservative that the artist thought of his figures almost as decorative symbols rather than as faithful representations. In such a scheme a radical change could be established only with the greatest difficulty.

Numerous attempts have already been made to find the origin and explain the reason for this innovation. Most recently Rostovtzeff has reviewed the question in his "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art."¹ Herzfeld believes that frontality was borrowed by the Parthians from the Greeks; V. Müller regards Mesopotamia as its land of origin; Diez, Rodenwaldt and Seyrig believe it came first from Iran, especially eastern Iran, since the Hellenistic art of India was also affected.² Rostovtzeff suggests that frontality passed from North Mesopotamia by way of Media and Hyrcania to Iran and was spread by the Parthians particularly after their national self-consciousness had largely rejected the allure of Greek art.¹

To the limited repertoire of the East the Greeks brought an immense variety of form and posture. The difference may be seen at once in the treatment of so common a scene as the funeral or ritualistic banquet. In the relief from Dascylium (*Fig. 1*)³ of the fourth century B.C. one sees the typical Persian hunting scene, the horse leaping forward with the Assyro-Persian gallop, *i.e.*, with the hind feet together and flat on the ground, the fore feet raised and the off leg appearing just above the near. Below a banquet is represented; the man is lying on a couch and two women are seated beside him, one on a part of the couch, another on a chair. A child stands between the man and wife and at either end of the scene stand a man and woman, probably relatives. All the faces are in profile. A similar scene depicted by a Greek artist gives a much more natural representation and exhibits a variety of positions (*Fig. 2*).⁴ The figures turn toward one another, the heads are sometimes in three-quarters view, sometimes in profile, sometimes almost full front. It is an example of

¹ *Yale Classical Studies*, Vol. V, New Haven, 1934, pp. 238 ff.

² E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 1920, pp. 65 ff. Cf. id. *Rev. d. Arts Asiat.*, V, 1928, p. 135; V. Müller, "Zwei syrische Bilder Rom. Zeit," 86 *Winckelmanns-progr.*, 1927, p. 24; E. Diez, *Belvedere*, VI, 1924, Heft 30, pp. 200 ff.; G. Rodenwaldt, *Gnomon*, VII, 1931, pp. 292 ff. and *Sitzb. d. Berl. Ak.*, XXVII, 1931, pp. 1054

(29) ff.; H. Seyrig, *Syria*, XV, 1934, pp. 185 ff.

³ G. Mendel, *Cat. des Sculptures, Musées Impériaux Ottomans*, Constantinople, 1914, III, No. 1020; Macridy Bey, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, XXXVII, 1913, pp. 355 ff.

⁴ Ernst Pfuhl, "Spätionische Plastik," *Jahrbuch d. Deutschen Archaeol. Instituts*, Band 50, 1935, p. 36, *Fig. 18*.

Hellenistic art at its best, an art which represented the ease and grace of its subjects, which stressed naturalness, which delighted in variety. In Asia Minor, however, the traditions of the East gradually asserted themselves. The artists were willing to adopt certain innovations but they never delighted in variety itself and they scarcely attempted to master the intricacies of foreshortening. They were willing, therefore, to accept a full face view but were inclined to reject the three-quarters view and positions which necessitated the technique of spatial depth. A relief from the first quarter of the third century shows very clearly the combination of the two (*Fig. 3*).⁵ Again we have the banquet scene but this time the reclining figure is depicted in full front view while the rest are in straight profile. On that account the scene is no longer natural; the figures are stiff and in the position of the head, at least, conventionalized. There is a union of eastern and western ideas but behind this union lies the dominant eastern conception that the figures are a decorative or symbolic motif to be treated in a certain definite way. The artist accepts Greek frontality as a concession to the new regime, but he accepts it only as one more convention to be added to the eastern category.

McDowell has remarked⁶ that of the Seleucid coins from Seleucia thirty-five per cent are characterized by frontality. This fact would not be surprising in itself, particularly since fourteen out of the twenty types represent Helios. Furthermore, since the three-quarter and other fractional views are ill adapted to coin types, the choice lay between the full front view or the profile. The Parthians, however, followed the example of their Greek predecessors in Mesopotamia and occasionally showed the king in front view. When we observe that on the great Parthian reliefs the figures sometimes maintain beside the straight profile the full front view, it is evident that a definite change has taken place. In the series of rock carvings from TENGH-I-SAULEH⁷ the figures in the upper registers are in front view, but the procession of adults and children below is in profile. The reliefs from Assur show one figure in profile, two in front view.⁸ In the royal Parthian art, therefore, examples of which are seen in coins and rock reliefs, both profile and frontality are definitely established.

The occasional use of frontality, however, beside the usual eastern profile view in the royal monuments does not account for the almost exclusive use of frontality at Dura and Palmyra in the Parthian period. Frontality, to be sure, became a factor over the whole region of Parthian influence from the Black Sea to northern India, but nowhere is it used more regularly than in northeastern Syria. One is inclined, therefore, to look for some special influence in this district which might have caused the change. Nor is that influence far to seek. Moortgat has already pointed out⁹ that, while the earlier art of lower Mesopotamia showed no interest in frontality, the situation was different in the north-Mesopotamian

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 37, Fig. 19.

⁶ R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, Ann Arbor, 1935, pp. 47-8.

⁷ E. Flandin et P. Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, 1834, IV, Pls. 224, 222.

⁸ W. Andrae und H. Lenzen, *Die Partherstadt Assur*, Leipzig, 1933, Taf. 59, a-c.

⁹ A. Moortgat, *Die bildene Kunst des Altens Orients und die Bergvölker*, 1932, pp. 62 ff. and Pls. LIII, LIV; Rostovtzeff, *Yale Classical Studies*, V, p. 240.



FIG. 1—RELIEF FROM DASCYLIUM



FIG. 2—TOMB RELIEF FROM GALLIPOLI



FIG. 3—TOMB RELIEF, ISTANBUL MUSEUM



FIG. 4—RELIEF FROM SINJIRLI



FIG. 5*a, b*—HITTITE SOLDIERS



FIG. 6—MITHRA RELIEF FROM MOESIA



FIG. 7a, b—TERRA-COTTA PLAQUES FROM DURA

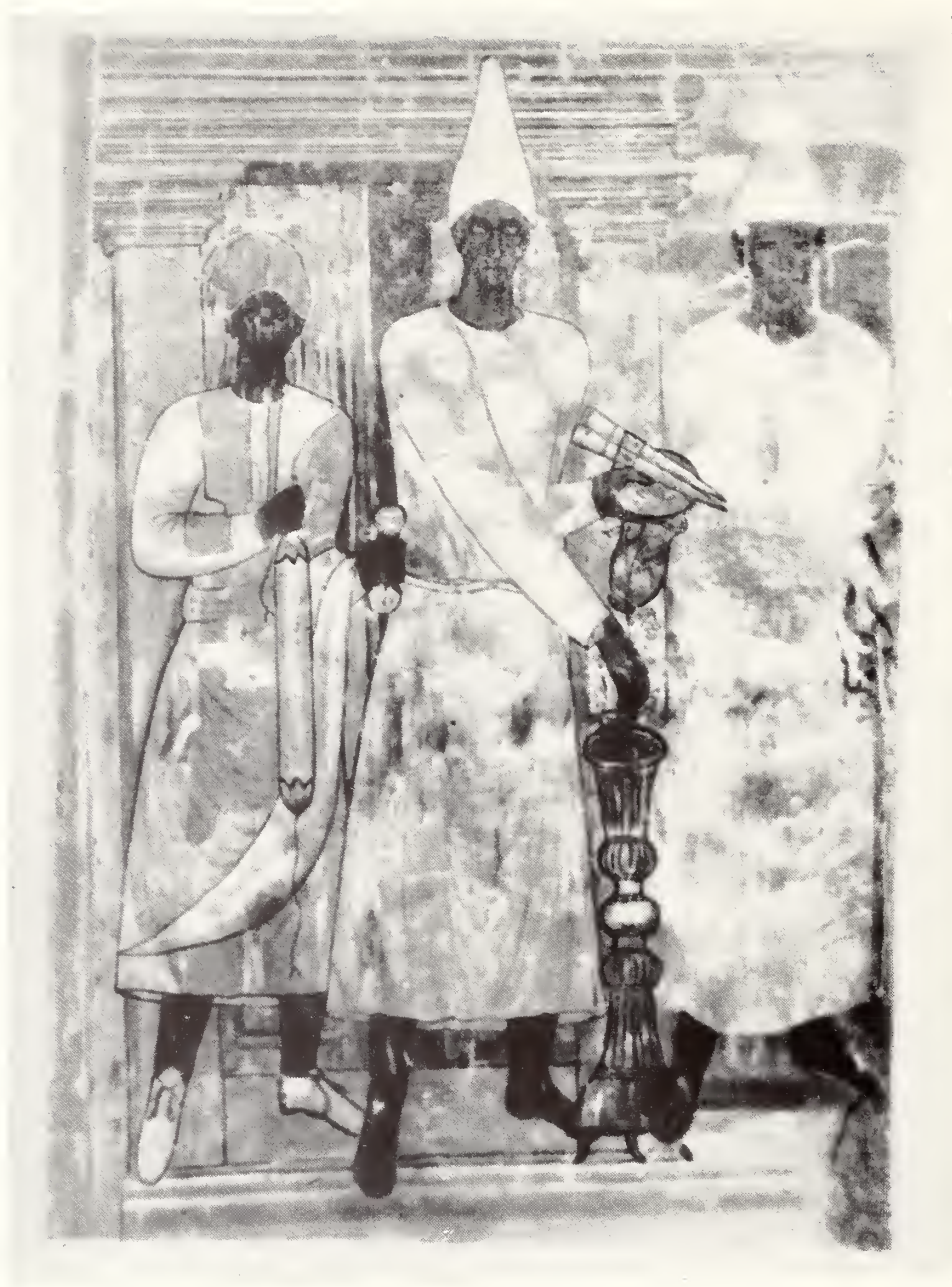


FIG. 8—MURAL PAINTING FROM DURA

regions, for here cult reliefs show figures of gods and attendants in front view as well as in profile. Furthermore, the Hittites preferred to show the torso in front view even when the head and feet were in profile. A banqueting scene represents two men extending either the right or left hand as required in order to bring the torso to the front (*Fig. 4*).¹⁰ The soldiers walk to the side with head in profile but turn the body front much as in the Egyptian reliefs (*Fig. 5*).¹¹ The Greeks would scarcely tolerate the continuation of such awkward positions in art. The East, however, was disinclined to accept the many variations of the Greeks and in Syria and southern Asia Minor was loth to give up torso frontality. The front view of the head solved the question, at least in part, and once the rule was established it was rigidly applied with typical eastern conservatism.

That the Parthians were not the only ones nor the first to bring frontality to Asia Minor seems clear from the tradition of the Mithra reliefs. The great cult of Mithra was not Parthian but rather Graeco-Persian. The god does not wear the Parthian costume with jacket embroidered down the front, but the trousers and loose, long-sleeved chiton characteristic of Asia Minor. The short sword or dagger he carries is Persian rather than Parthian. It is possible that the first representations of Mithra slaying the bull date before the Parthian period. At any rate, the Tauroctonus type was well established in Asia Minor before the influence of Parthian art became pronounced and it was developed in a district outside of Parthian domination. In these Mithra reliefs characteristic features are the frontality of Mithra even though he is in the act of killing the bull and the frontality of his two companions Cautes and Cautopates, though they would be expected to face their leader. A good example is the relief from upper Moesia (*Fig. 6*).¹² The explanation from the eastern point of view is simple: torso frontality was taken for granted by the artist and the head under Greek influence was made to face with the body. This same frontality in Asia Minor is found in representations of the female goddess between the Kabeiroi, in representations of Sabazios and of the sun-god mounted in the chariot.¹³ The latter type may have been imported through the Parthians from the Far East, since the horses drawing the chariot are in side view; but the two former scenes could scarcely have been influenced by the Parthians since the cults are both local and old.

If a combination of Greek and eastern elements brought frontality to Asia Minor, however, and to Mesopotamia even before the arrival of the Parthians, it is equally true that the Parthians did much to spread this manner of representation. Rostovtzeff is probably correct in saying that the Parthians first adopted frontality, at least for the divine figures of their cult reliefs, while still in their old homes east of the Caspian sea.¹⁴ At any rate,

¹⁰ J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, London, 1929, Pl. XLIV, 1; Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, 1890, Pl. XLV.

¹¹ M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The Orient and Greece*, Oxford, 1926, Pl. XX.

¹² F. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs*

aux mystères de Mithra, Bruxelles, 1896, II, p. 276, Fig. 119.

¹³ W. M. Ramsay, *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilization*, London, 1927, p. 274, Fig. 7; Fritz Saxl, *Mithras*, Berlin, 1931, Pl. 10, Figs. 60, 64; Pl. 21, Figs. 112-115.

¹⁴ *Yale Studies*, V, p. 240.

the representations which seem most purely Parthian in Mesopotamia maintain strict frontality. The crude figures with the exaggerated heads on slipper coffins¹⁵ are always full front; the terra-cotta plaques from Dura representing warrior or priest in Parthian costume (*Fig. 7*)¹⁶ invariably face front, and, though in Assur the reliefs occasionally show the profile view, the graffiti are all full front.¹⁷

I have remarked elsewhere¹⁸ that Parthian art is naïve compared with the old Mesopotamian tradition and that it is imbued with a desire to portray as many details as possible. For this reason in rendering the mounted Parthian archer the artist regularly changes his point of view three times, so that he may show the chest of the horse, may represent the torso and head of the horseman full front and render completely the lower side of the two hind legs of the horse. Such a desire to show as many details as possible would inevitably bring the head to the front so that both eyes could be shown. Frontality also offered the artist the means of portraying the hairdress more easily. It was characteristic of both Persian and Parthian art to represent ethnographic details with great care. The fact that Plutarch mentions particularly the hairdress of the Parthians at the battle of Carrhae, stating that they all wore their hair in the Scythian manner except Surena,¹⁹ suggests that the coiffure was of particular importance. Since the manner of wearing the hair like a halo around the head or in a tripartite mass (both of which were favorite methods of the Parthians) lends itself to frontal rather than profile treatment, the artist would have an additional reason for turning the head to the front.

To the painter or sculptor in relief the face in front view offers comparatively little difficulty, since it may be represented as almost flat. A good deal of skill is necessary, however, to portray the ears and the feet, since some suggestion of the third dimension must be given to supply the necessary depth. The question of ears the Parthians settled very easily by covering them with the more or less flat masses of hair. In Asia Minor the Greeks came to the assistance of the eastern artist in regard to the representation of feet. Greek vase painters had in the fifth century adopted along with a true foreshortening the practice of depicting the frontal figure as moving to right or left and so placing the front foot in profile while the other was raised slightly for the step, thus exposing the broad, comparatively flat surface of the front of the foot. This method of portraying the subject as moving or about to move became popular in Thessaly and Macedonia as the grave paintings of Volo and the reliefs of Macedonia show.²⁰ In Asia Minor a very striking example of the difficulty and the attempt at a solution is furnished by the reliefs of Antiochus at Nimrud Dag. The figures are represented with torso frontality in the old Hittite fashion and, fol-

¹⁵ E.g. F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des Alten Persien*, Berlin, 1923, Pl. 64.

¹⁶ *Excavations at Dura Europos*, *Prelim. Rep.* III, Pl. XIII, 2 and *Rep.* VI to appear.

¹⁷ W. Andrae und H. Lenzen, *Die Partherstadt Assur*, p. 109, Abb. 46 and Pls. 60-62,

¹⁸ *Berytus* III to appear.

¹⁹ Plutarch, *Crassus*, 24.

²⁰ A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Eph. Arch.*, 1908, Pls. I-IV; L. Heuzey et H. Daumet, *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine*, Paris, 1876, Pl. 4, Figs. 2, 3, 7.

lowing the same precedent, the heads are in profile. The feet, however, instead of being in profile, one before the other and both flat on the ground as in Hittite reliefs, are turned front. In some figures the feet are cut back so that the whole is in the round, in others, though there is no occasion for it, the figure is represented as moving right or left with one foot in profile, the other raised in the Greek fashion.²¹ In Dura the paintings under Hellenistic influence almost invariably portray the figure as moving so that the feet may be represented in the same way and as far as possible the need for foreshortening avoided. So the priest of Konon, though standing at the altar, has one foot half raised as if to step to the right (*Fig. 8*) and in the Synagogue the four prophets are all represented as moving toward the Torah shrine.²² Thus the Greeks offered a solution to this problem by causing a figure represented full front to move to right or left. It was characteristic of the East that they should accept this type in their repertoire and reproduce it even when it was illogical. The Parthians, however, went one step farther. Keeping the entire figure full front and being unable or unwilling to foreshorten the feet, they either turned them out sharply or portrayed both as turned down as if the figure were standing on its toes. An excellent example is afforded by the little clay plaques from Dura showing a priest sacrificing before an altar and another a warrior (*Fig. 7*). The graffito of the sacrificial scene at Assur furnishes another example (*Fig. 9*) and the famous bone Parthian plaques from Olbia a third (*Fig. 10*).²³

Though the Parthians can only claim in part the credit for the introduction and wide spread of facial frontality in the East, they can lay definite claim to the figure with feet pointing down as if dancing on the toes. It is a feature which accords with our knowledge of Parthian art remarkably well, for it is a naïve conception serving only to obviate the necessity of foreshortening the foot. Curiously enough, probably because eastern traditions were so strong, the feet, though pointed down, tended to remain in profile. Byzantine art probably under Greek influence turned the feet so that the broad front of the foot was exposed. Byzantine art continued, however, to point the foot down sharply to avoid much of the necessity for foreshortening in spite of the superior knowledge of the West in dealing with spatial depth. At first sight this position gives the impression that the figure is standing on an inclined surface (*Fig. 11*).²⁴ It is clear, however, from instances which present a definite floor surface, as the leaf of a diptych from the British Museum (*Fig. 12*),²⁵ that the feet are not flat but pointed down at a decided angle. Nothing in Byzantine art exhibits

²¹ Humann und Puchstein, *Reisen in Klein Asien und Nordsyrien*, 1890, Pls. XXXIV-XXXIX.

²² J. H. Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, Chicago, 1924, Pl. IX; F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura*, Paris, 1926, Pl. XXXII; *Excavations at Dura-Europos Prelim. Rep.* VI, to appear.

²³ Andrae und Lenzen, *Die Partherstadt Assur*, p. 109, Abb. 46; B. Farmakovsky, *Arch. Anz.*, XXII, 1907, pp.

148 ff., Figs. 15-28; *id.*, "Olbia, 1901-1908," *Bull. of the Arch. Commission*, XXXIII, 1909, p. 134, Figs. 60-65; B. and V. Khanenko, *Ant. de la région du Dniepre*, VI, Pl. IV, No. 551; Rostovtzeff, *Yale Studies*, V, pp. 190 ff., Fig. 31; *Dura Report VI* to appear.

²⁴ D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Art*, Oxford, 1935, Pl. 5.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, Pl. 29b.

more clearly the union of eastern and western art than the emphasis on frontality and this special position of the feet.

Mr. Aga-Oglu has very kindly provided me with examples which illustrate in Islamic art the ancient treatment of frontality. As one expects, there is in Islamic art a variety of forms drawn from earlier cultures. An ivory plaque²⁶ from Mesopotamia or Persia, and dated before the thirteenth century, represents two figures (*Fig. 13*) with body and head in front view, the feet in profile and flat on the ground. This type recalls at once the Hittite and Assyrian reliefs which represent the body full front though the feet remain in profile. Paintings from ẖuṣeir 'Amra²⁷ present the survival of the Greek form which shows the frontal figure moving right or left with the front foot in profile and flat on the ground, the back foot raised for the step (*Fig. 14*). Perhaps most interesting, however, is the survival of the Parthian interpretation in a painting from Sāmarrā,²⁸ a painting in which the artist presents the figure of a calf bearer in full front view. The feet are turned out to either side, pointed slightly down and shown in profile (*Fig. 15*), in exactly the manner introduced by the Parthians. Herzfeld²⁹ calls attention to the dependence of the paintings of Sāmarrā on Sassanian art. Many details of the paintings of ẖuṣeir 'Amra may also be traced back to Sassanian and Hellenistic prototypes. In the treatment of frontality, then, one sees again how strong was the force of tradition and how conservative was Islamic art particularly in its early development.

²⁶ G. Migeon, *Les Arts Musulmans*, Paris, 1926, Pl. XL.

²⁷ ẖuṣeir 'Amra, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaft, Vienna, 1907, II, Taf. XXVI.

²⁸ E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin, 1927, p. 88, Fig. 65 and Pl. 69.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 105.



FIG. 9—GRAFFITO FROM ASSUR



FIG. 10—BONE PLAQUES FROM OLBIA



FIG. II.—MOSAIC FROM SALONICA



FIG. 12.—LEAF OF DIPTYCH
LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM



FIG. 14—PAINTING FROM KUSEIR 'AMRA



FIG. 13—IVORY PLAQUE FROM
MESOPOTAMIA OR PERSIA



FIG. 15—PAINTING FROM SĀMARRĀ

GENERAL PART

THE ONLY UNIVERSAL-GENETIC PRESENTATION OF HISTORIC STYLES IN EXISTENCE HAS been put forward by Ludwig Coellen in his book *Der Stil in der Bildenden Kunst*.¹ The emphasis is on the notion "genetic" in contrast to all preceding and succeeding stylistic analyses which are all merely descriptive and have been arrived at empirically. The only exception was the method of Alois Riegl which he expounded in his *Spaetromische Kunstindustrie*.² Since Coellen's stylistic analysis is limited to European art, a parallel genetic stylistic analysis of Asiatic art is still wanting. The following is an attempt to apply this method to Islamic Art; it may later be expanded to include Indian and Chinese Art.³

Since Coellen's book has remained almost unknown outside of Germany it seems a necessary introduction for this essay to give a brief summary of his genetic categories.

First Coellen's conception of style as a philosophical term has to be explained. Generally speaking the conception of style is a conception of "time and space" form. But since artistic activity is a creative act, the conception of style cannot be established by methods of aesthetics but by those of ethics. Thus the Theory of Art belongs to the realm of philosophy and its principles must be founded on transcendental logic, before they can be used in discussing the theory of form of the history of art. In the act of creating man accomplishes the great task of representing the objective world as his own product. He does this first in creating his own religion, secondly in art. Both are creations in the ethical sense. The identity of forming and form is the essence of the creative process and this identity must appear in the work of art. Time and space are, generally speaking, the two organizing principles of reality. In the act of artistic creation space is subordinated to time. *Creative activity becomes space-genesis in the unity of time and the functional subordinate relation to time is the first law of artistic form.* The lapse of time which takes place in space and through space, and is accented by it, and in which space is perceived, we call *rhythm*. Art form realized as a rhythmic unit in space is an organic complex of separate units which take place within the specific space.

*I am greatly indebted to my esteemed colleague Helmut von Erffa and to Mrs. von Erffa for having helped me in the preparation of the text.

¹ Arkadenverlag Traisa, Darmstadt, 1921. 347 pp. 57 Figs. The publishing house exists no longer; the book is obtainable now and then. An abstract of the system, unfortunately insufficient for a study of the problems, was published as: *The methods of the History of Art, an historical philosophical inquiry* by L. Coellen at the same

publisher.

² A bibliography on the Philosophy of Art can be found in Walter Passarge, *Die Philosophie der Kunstgeschichte in der Gegenwart*. Junker und Duennhaupt Verlag, Berlin, 1930.

³ Coellen explains his limiting himself to Europe by his insufficient knowledge of the cultures of Asia, but is adept enough to realize that his theory of style can be applied to them also. Cf. p. 341 n. 5.

The law of art form is the law of the organization of space rhythm. In spatial organization we have to distinguish the three dimensions, in the plane, width and height, and the third, depth. The rhythmic arrangement of width we call symmetry, of height, proportion; and in depth masses are arranged according to these two schemes of distribution.

The peculiar value of the creative art which lends dignity to art, as it does to any other cultural or ethical activity, is its quality of perception. The creative act is the act of cosmic perception. In natural perception the origin remained hidden and the existence only of reality was perceptible. In creative perception existence is put into relationship with its origin, thus accomplishing the identity of cause and consequence. Art is thus in the province of ethics; it is the setting of limited existence and its indeterminate cause, into the sphere of the perception of time and space. The material formation of limited existence is related and identified with its cause. Thus art is on an equal footing with the other provinces of ethics, religion and philosophy. They too, relate the finite to the infinite, that is, existence to its cause or origin.

Perception of the current "Weltbegriff" is thus given as the basis and point of departure for Coellen's metaphysical stylistic analysis. This current life-conception is the origin of the current religion, philosophy and art. Coellen always makes philosophy and religion the points of departure in his discussion of the historic styles of Europe. The life-conception and the style of a period correspond to each as condition and conditioned, like Being and its physical presentation. Thus stylistic form has a definite meaning; it is the physical equivalent of the life conception to which it belongs. There the main problem of the theory of style is to find the relation of general form to its equivalent life conception. The theory of style must trace back the constituents of art form to its life conception and seek their foundation therein.

The work of art has accomplished its task if it elevates the various natural objects, the complex of existing bodies to a state of totality. A style is fulfilled, as soon as it expresses totality. Since art expresses itself, as we stated above, in a spatial-temporal form, the totalitarian space is the totality of every style. As stylistic elements can only be considered space-creating factors, *i.e.*, such factors which through their general structural character are capable of being related to and made equivalent to the life-conception. These factors stand in contrast to elements which have only individual (not general) value in building up form.

Having laid down these principles we can proceed to the first concrete problem, that of the totality of space, the first of the laws of style. Coellen knows *four elementary possibilities of the genesis of space: the creation of the plane, of individual space, of limited partial space, and unlimited general space*. These four kinds can form the totalitarian space of a work of art.

In ornament the plane is the totalitarian space, in sculpture the space enclosing the individual object, *i.e.*, of the human figure, in architecture the limited partial space, in painting general space, unlimited in idea. From these four possibilities of the genesis of space, we derive the origin of the four genera of art. From the creation of the plane comes ornament, the first, lowest genus of form. From the creation of individual space is derived sculpture, the

next genus. From the creation of limited partial space is derived architecture in the broadest sense of the word, that is inclusive of pure tectonics. The creation of general space produces the fourth genus of art, painting. It is almost self evident that the origin of the genera which is derived from genesis of space, is also historical genesis, that a functional relationship between it and the development of style can be found. It is important that by establishing a genesis of space in four levels, we have added a fourth to the three recognized genera of art: sculpture, architecture and painting. Ornament is an independent type of art. Ornament is the genesis of the vertical and horizontal plane. Its means are the lines and colours. It is these which must create the plane as special totality. Thus ornament becomes a real form of art and must be distinguished from mere decoration.

Our next problem is to see how the four genera of art function as the four possibilities of the genesis of space, as the fulfillment of each spatial totality, that is as styles. Empirical research shows that the most primitive art, that of the Stone Age and of some wild tribes, is limited to creation on one plane. All other kinds of spatial genesis are lacking there. The next higher level, represented—aside from prehistoric products as the Venus of Willendorf, etc.—mainly by Negro Art, knows only the creation of the plane and of individual space. The art of the Ancient Orient and of Greece knows partial space. Hellenistic Art finally introduces general space. Later European Art uses continuously in its whole course all four kinds of spatial genesis, but with different “key signatures” so to speak, namely in “polar composition.” The logical development of the genera of art is paralleled by historical development. We must keep in mind especially the fact that, corresponding to the very long prehistoric development of human culture, the first three types of space are of prehistoric origin and that Greek culture enters into the light of history already on the third level of space, that of partial space. In order to study the first two kinds of space we must turn to prehistoric finds and to contemporary tribes, but they also are partly on the third level, which might also be called the tectonic.

This differentiation too, is of primary importance, that for the genera of art, ornament, sculpture, architecture and painting the corresponding kinds of space retain their unchanging significance of a law of technique in each period of style. For each style on the other hand, only one of the kinds of space takes on the characteristics of spatial totality, or true stylistic character. That means that ornament is always related to the plane, but that the plane created in the primitive art of the first spatial level is the style-totality. Beyond that no artistic activity was known. Sculpture always created individual space, but yet the Venus of Willendorf has no feet to stand on, is not “tectonized.” This takes place in the third step. Later works of sculpture are realizations of individual space, but are always put into special relation with general space and are to be valued stylistically according to it. The same holds true for ancient painting. Thus the following law of style can be arrived at:

In each style one of the four kinds of space is the equivalent of the pole of infinity; in the conception of life belonging to it is the spatial totality typifying the style.

Thus in Renaissance sculpture general space is expressed as spatial totality. The David

of Michelangelo is stylistically different from the Doryphoros of Polycleitus, because the former can no longer be considered as plastic space in itself, but is related to general space through the totality of its style. In Baroque sculpture this relation is aggravated to the point of the dissolution of plastic individual space into general space. The many potentialities of the relation between the plane and individual space in the fourth level can unfortunately not be discussed here. The principle should be by now sufficiently clear. The relation of ornament to the four spatial levels will be treated in the special chapter on the style of Islamic ornament.

The differentiation between the four kinds is not sufficient for the analysis of style, but merely forms the basis of it. Within the four kinds are fundamental variations, which seems obvious if we realize that the art of the ancient Orient and the art of Greece belong to the same spatial levels namely that of partial space.

The ethical basis of the four levels of space consists of the several conceptions of life whose equivalents are the styles. These we must discuss briefly. We ask, what conception of life is equivalent to binding the representation of totality with the plane, to individual space, to partial space and finally general space? On the first level it is decisive that the plane is the fulfillment of its existence. To this simple, immediate identity of the representation of totality and its existential reality, which are both the actual plane itself, corresponds the simplest possible conception of life: the absolute identity of existence and its metaphysical basis. Physical appearance is conceived identically with its indefinite basis. The basis is not yet distinguished from existence as something separate. Existence is basis as well and appears to be effective as an absolute force out of itself and through itself. This is the level of the magic life conception in which objects, the physical phenomena, are thought of as having magic power. It is the conception of life of primitive tribes.

On the second level the representation of the totality of style is accomplished by individual space and thus the equivalent of a conception of life in which the idea of the individual becomes important in the comprehending of existence. While existence was conceived of in the simplest fashion as undifferentiated totality, the individual is next discovered. It is the level of demonic life conception, of the belief in demons who dwell within existing objects as driving forces. On this level begins sculpture and the representation of the individual figure. Examples are prehistoric sculpture (Venus of Willendorf, etc.) and the primitive, not yet tectonized level of negro sculpture.

If, thirdly, we deal with limited partial space as totality of style, the differentiation between tectonics and interior architecture must be kept in mind. For, in this case, the conception of general space has not entered into artistic activity and we do not yet deal with the separation of partial space from the general space, and architecture can only be the pure tectonic building up partial space, coordinating a complex of individual units. Then partial space appears, in its totalitarian aspect, to be equivalent to the cosmic conception of life, which signifies a certain augmenting of the preceding level. The cosmological conception has risen from being limited to the single individual to a complex of individuals, and in accord-

ance with this the metaphysical basis is conceived as a community of basic individuals, as a community of gods. This is the level of the polytheistic conception of life, the strata of the pre-Christian civilisations up to Hellenistic culture. Referring to the above mentioned difference between the art of the ancient Orient and that of Greece, which are both polytheistic, we distinguish between two subordinate levels: the first where the individual is mechanistic and collectivistic, the second where the individual becomes organic and personal, *i.e.*, the level attained by the Greeks.

Finally, general space is the expression equivalent to the unitary idea of the infinite, if, as in Hellenistic art, it becomes the representation of totality of style. The earlier levels of life conception and of stylistic totality are, at the same time, eliminated and conserved in an idea of the infinite which is origin *a priori*, the sole basis, the creative force which dominates, in the Hellenistic world, even the gods. It is the level of the monotheistic conception which is attained through Hellenistic culture, in the first epoch, together with the representation of general space.

We can summarize the development of the totality of space of the first, objective epoch, which extends in Europe until about the beginning of the Christian era, as follows:

In the epoch of the objective cosmological conception the development of the four representations of spatial totality is based on the four corresponding forms of life philosophy, the magic, demonic, polytheistic and monotheistic.

The totality of general space in style, however, as the equivalent of a unitary idea of the infinite, extends beyond the Hellenistic age up into our own time. It is still alive. From now on it is only the conception of the spheres of existence of God and life which change and bring forth in art different styles as the expression of totality. The relation of the idea of infinity, which is equivalent to the totality of general space and was predominant in the Hellenistic age, to reality, can be expressed in various terms; it is the change in this relationship which is behind the various styles of our era.

Totality of space is the first and highest law of style. The law nearest to it concerns the relationship which exists between totalitarian space and its existential fulfillment, and which accomplishes a synthetic unity. The relationship is, generally speaking, through the means conducive to spatial rhythmical order—the line, color, plane, etc. It is the law which establishes the relationship of the single forms and totality. Therefore, only style which is concerned with the general laws of form can be expressed by it. It is this expression of stylistic totality which is generally called style, the making visible the relation between the totality of existence and its infinite basis in Reality.

The two fundamental kinds of the space creating principle are *mechanism* and *organism*. In the mechanistic spatial order the individual is part of a space constructed after mechanical mathematical principles and, as a separate part, set into the whole. In the organism this order is buried under and thus preserved in the higher unified principle of life which sets all separate parts in immediate relation to the whole and makes them like members of one body. Organism is a living being, the mechanistic individual a lifeless being. These two principles

also have a metaphysical foundation, and have their roots in the relation between existence and its indefinite basis. Ideologically speaking the indefinite basis forms the design out of itself as definite existence. That is, it separates from existence which is identical with it through the principle of individuation. Existence becomes the totality of individuals. (The story of creation in the Old Testament is popular legend but, nevertheless a pertinent illustration of this step of humanity.) The principle of individuation can be either mechanistic which sets up existence as the totality of mass individuals or non-individuals, or organizistic which sets up existence as the totality of individuals. In Christian civilization before the Renaissance, mechanistic individuation remains the life conception. It is purely and exclusively exemplified in Islamic art and culture. In both Christian and Islamic civilizations man in relation to God is conceived of as non-individual or mass individual, although in its normal meaning he is not deprived of individuality. If, on the other hand organizistic individuation is used in the presentation of life conception, the mechanic and organic existence again holds this existential determination in relation to the basis only. Thus the Greek, from an ethical point of view, also conceives of inanimate phenomena as living beings, although empirically they are to him mechanistic. The following genetic parallel may help in the understanding of individuation and its stylistic significance. Man, in his ethical activities, does not proceed from a pure idea. He has a premise, as the material with which to work, on natural experience or on existence itself. He lifts himself above experience. It is significant the way the principle of individuation becomes immanent in cosmological activity and the way in which it functions. In the magic life conception, the principle of individuation is not yet set at all. Existence is accepted as undifferentiated totality, and as totality in relation to its basis—as is the case in Early Christian, Byzantine and Islamic cultures. The next case is the interpretation of individuation in its lowest form as the building up of the single mass individual. In the ethical presentation of world conception the principle of the individual functions in this limited form. The spiritual disposition of the morally active man is bound by this categorically—this is the case of the demonic life conception and corresponding to the later Romanesque period. On the third level this limitation is expanded to a complex of mass-individuals. Man establishes this system of individuation in relating existence to its basis. This was the case with the pre-Greek culture and later with the Gothic culture.

Up to the period of Greek culture the principle of individuation acts as the mechanistic one. As to the metaphysical basis existence is conceived in the form of the mass individual. For the first time in history the principle becomes organizistic in Greek culture. Existence is now based on a complex of organic individuals. Greek culture in all its phases is characterised by this individualistic principle, which now acts as the form creating principle of the human spirit. The Hellenistic age fulfills this development. The existence is conceived no longer as a complex of organism, but as an organic unlimited totality. The pure idea of cosmological conception is finally achieved. The "basis" (*unendliche Grund*) separates itself as an existential organism, whose individuals are inseparable members of the whole. From

this searching definition of individuation, Coellen arrives at the second law of style which supplements the law of kinds of space being equivalent to life conceptions. *The two kinds of cosmologically conceived individuations, the mechanistic and the organizistic, are equivalent to two kinds of space creating principles which form style and stylistic differences. One corresponding to the mechanistic principle we call Cubism, the other the principle of Organicism. Style is necessarily either cubistic or organizistic.*

The conception "Cubism" resembles modern Cubism only by having in common with it the genetic principle. The two conceptions signify no more than two structural laws, and have nothing to do with the individual selection of existential phenomena. The mechanistic and the organizistic principles can enter equally into both cubistic and organizistic forms of nature formed cubistically in one case and organizistically in another. Two examples of this must suffice. The Greek column is an example of a mechanical cylindrical solid, formed organizistically and applied. The human figure, on the other hand, as it appears in a Byzantine mosaic in a row of saints, is used cubistically.

Outside of the structural transformation of the objects, the organization of the media of form is of stylistic importance. The spatial rhythmic organization of form is expressing in symmetry and proportion and in the building up of total space out of spatial masses. In organic forms this leads to perspective which is unacceptable to cubism. In mechanistic cosmologies, among which Islam is important, man is a partial being. This valuation is expressed in the spatial rhythmic order into which man is set. The formal media, planes and colors, have thus, in so far as they constitute general form, the value only of mechanistic surface portrayal of living objects, as opposed to the organizistic functional expression. The colors are chosen independently of nature, by the purely artistic rules of corresponding values and contrasts.

Cubism has so far been characterized negatively. It lacks specific spatial value in building up general form, but its positive expression is manifold. While Greek art has much in common with Renaissance and what follows, the cubistic periods, such as that of Egyptian, pre-renaissancistic Christian and Islamic art, offer great dissimilarities and are scarcely comparable in the field of space. The severe cubism of Egypt is dominated by simple mathematical forms. This is true also for a great part of Islamic architecture, especially that in Eastern countries not influenced by Mediterranean art.

In Early Christian art we have in addition irregular spatial forms without specific function. Romanesque art is rather strictly cubistic and its cubism is easiest to grasp. At the same time as late Romanesque in the twelfth century, this almost Romanesque phase of cubism appears in the Islamic art of the Seldjûk of Asia Minor. In Gothic art cubism overlays the natural organic basis of the forms.

Cubism in the narrow sense has as a formal basis geometric and stereometric conceptions. Space is organized through the following forms: the straight line, especially the horizontal and the vertical, the circle, the ellipse, and simple, regular curves, the simple solids, the cube, prism, pyramid, ball, cone and cylinder. The natural object is schematized geo-

metrically. This strict cubism is found in its purest form in the epoch leading up to Greek art, the epoch of the nature-bound cosmologies. It is the law of style governing primitive ornament as well as negro sculpture and Polynesian art. Later periods add irregular, inorganic spatial elements and organic forms devoid of their function. The cubism of the present day combines purely geometric formations with organic, mechanized forms which almost balance each other, without excluding irregular elements. Cubism varies with changes in the individualistic principle, as we shall see later.

Where the representation of living beings, especially human beings, is undertaken, as in our case in Persian Miniature painting and in some stucco figures, the approximation to cubistic patterns or to irregular forms suppresses the organic function of the natural formula and its anatomic formation, or all this is subordinated to cubic forms. It depends on stylistic characteristics and other circumstances to what degree the original meaning is preserved. The meaning is overlaid by the implication of cubistic form of partial being. What was originally organic remains only mechanistically. The cubistic, on the other hand, which governs the character of the law of form, participates in stylistic general form. Logically it is the reverse of the organismism, wherein the mechanistic element can be preserved as part of the objective individual momentum. Symmetry, the means of rhythmic division in breadth, is applied differently in organismism and cubism. In cubism the simple forms are set side by side with the same value of accentuation. The grouping is mechanical and contrary to organismistic symmetry based on primary importance of one object and the functional interlocking of subordinate parts. One might refer to the grouping in the Pergamon frieze or in Raphael's School of Athens and compare this with the groups in Byzantine mosaics or Romanesque wall paintings.

In proportion, achieved by division in height, both space-relating principles are applied differently. In organismism the proportion of the human body is fixed, while in cubism, as a rule, proportions are used freely, and organisms are represented independently of their functional construction or in their partial-individual aspect. One is reminded of the mechanically compact proportions of Early Christian and Romanesque art and of the over slender forms of Byzantine and Gothic art.

Cubism naturally achieves its strongest expression in the rhythmical balance of spatial masses. It contrasts sharply with the empirically harmonizing organismism. These relations do not exist in cubistic general form. Perspective is not valid for cubism because the actual existence of the object is not represented. The cubistic style has, through the elimination of perspective, as a principle, the form of a plane. To it the general space means the ideal plane, before which or on which the objects are arranged. In Byzantine and Romanesque art individual forms emphasize the frontal plane. In relief figures are arranged in sequence symmetrically, either in lines or in groups, or instead of being behind each other, they are above. It is the same in painting. The perspective depth is represented by order in height. Until the present time cubism has not been recognized in its full importance or as a spatial stylistic law, because of the greater prestige of the organismistic tradition in art. Its artistic

periods were looked down upon as undeveloped or primitive. Modern cubism too is misunderstood by the general public and looked down upon, although it expresses adequately our increasingly mechanistic age. If one reviews the general course of art history one realizes that cubism is more frequent and more important in its periods than organismism, the latter compared to it seems like a rare exception. But how man eulogized these rare epochs, centered around himself, those of classical antiquity, the Renaissance and what followed. . . . Yet, it compassed only one thousand out of five thousand years of historical development and it was limited to Greece and Western Europe.

Coellen established yet a third law of style which explains the contrast between *static* and *dynamic*. Existence and its metaphysical basis are the poles of an original identity. We know today that the metaphysical basis has its roots within ourselves, but it has always been projected by men in the form of demons, gods or one God. The infinite is the basis and source of our existence and existence is the fulfillment of the infinite. This renewal of the original identity is the underlying idea which produces all ethical, *i.e.*, religious and creative activities. Here are two possible cosmologies, one which can be focussed on the duality of both concepts or on their identity.

If the focus is on the duality, both existence and basis appear as relatively independent factors. Limited existence is recognized as actuality, and in the infinite, separated from it, is also actuality. A static balance is achieved between the two poles and identity becomes merely latent. This, to give an example, is the case with the Renaissance. There the personality of man has an independent value, his life is the sphere which is in contrast to God, the infinite basis, and with this separation of the two concepts, their identity as an impelling ethical motive is forced into the background.

But if the point of view on life is focussed on identity, it is not satisfied with the separation of actual existence and its basis. Duality remains as a premise, but it becomes a point of departure for striving after identity as the real goal. Duality is only a phase to be overcome in establishing the identity of the two concepts. The relation is a dynamic one which strives toward expression through the elevation of existence. The dynamic realization of identity becomes the driving motive of moral action. Thus it is the point of view of the Baroque, following the Renaissance. The personal life of the individual which before was valuable in itself, is elevated and its identity with God accomplished.

Static and dynamic are thus again two principles from which spring two contrasts of spatial genesis which can be formulated in this third law of style:

To the contrast of the static and dynamic conceptions of the world correspond two kinds of style, the static and dynamic.

In a work of art these principles are expressed in the different relation of the parts to the whole. In the static style objective existence as such is emphasized and preserved in each form, as closed spatial individuation in a state of rest. The building up of form represents a static unity in the balance of individuality. This has its root in totality as the basis of its existence.

In dynamic style objective existence, individual forms are elevated by being made part of the creation of totality, at the same time being conserved in a higher or lesser degree. The individual form becomes less important and is subordinated to totality. It is a phase of transition in a continuous motion, the goal of which is totality. The stylistic means employed are in one case making form static, in the other dynamic, the principle of unobstructed motion. The differentiation between static and dynamic presupposes, of course, that between cubism and organizism. It can only be added as a further definition of these two fundamental space creating principles. The dynamic also takes part in the cubistic styles according to their cosmological focus. Early Christian and Byzantine art as well as Romanesque is static-cubistic, Gothic dynamic-cubistic. The purely religious point of view of Islam, the absolute resignation to the will of God, points to the static character of Islamic art. It is a question whether the mysticism of the twelfth and thirteenth century, dynamic as a religious principle, was able to evoke a dynamic phase. In view of the imperturbable stability of the Orient such a reaction is, *a priori*, improbable, but we shall later investigate the problem through works of art. The means of the stabilization or dynamization of form are line and plane, color and chiaroscuro. If they express relative rest, they are limited to circumscribing single forms and presenting them in persisting "being." But, if these lines and planes express active movement, they put the object into a state of movement, charging its static form. We must distinguish between the inorganic line of cubism and the organic one of organizism. Of static effect is especially the simple geometric line if delineating simple or stereometric forms. It is the line in the inorganic sphere of cubism which best delineates individual space and sets it off separately. But dynamic in effect in cubism is the irregular, discontinuous line which follows no law, has no beginning, end or center in its course. This is the case in Gothic art. The further discussion of creative media will be taken up in their application to Islamic art.

We come now to the end of the general discussion of Coellen's categories of style according to which objectively valid stylistic analysis can be undertaken.

We have met with four kinds of totality and, as kinds of the space creating principle, we have cubism, organizism, static and dynamic, the second pair being sub-classifications in the first two. All general possibilities of spatial genesis are deducible from these kinds of totality, and space creating principles. No others are possible. They alone constitute style categorically. Style is necessarily, then, defined by one of the four kinds of totality, by the cubistic or organizistic spatial principles and by the sub-classifications static or dynamic.

These general possibilities are the building materials the selective combination of which, form each style. The combination is determined by the cosmology which is projected artistically by style, and which is the actual foundation of the history of styles. We have met the cosmologies superficially in their relations with the levels of totality: the magic, the demonic, the polytheistic and monotheistic. These are the component parts of a conception of life which in a large sense determines the process of culture and thus the history of style.

There are three types which form three epochs succeeding each other in history: the objective, the transcendental and the immanent conception of life.

The objective world conception is the first period of civilization; it lasts up to the beginning of Christianity, and Islam, both being the religious forms of the transcendental cosmology, which conceives the infinite as a supramundane God, contrasted to existence limited by actuality. With the nineteenth century a change comes over the Occident from the transcendental to the immanence of the Infinite, and present civilization in its creative expression is identified with the third type. Coellen sees in the historical sequence of these epochs the fulfillment of these three levels which Hegel made the foundation of his philosophy of art: thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Thesis is the simple unreflected identity of existence and reality, the objective life conception. Antithesis is the absolute separation of existence and reality, the transcendental conception. Synthesis is the elevation of the separation to a reflecting identity of existence and cause, which comprises both ideas, the immanent conception.

Since existence and reality in these three periods are originally differently related to each other from the ethical point of view, the four totalities and their existential fulfillments must, in analogous fashion, be in different relation to each other; this in each case is determined by stylistic law. That is, the two "form poles" to each other must, as a premise, regulate the form structure according to rule. Thus we arrive at the fundamental stylistic principles within which Coellen's stylistic laws change, which regulate the application of these laws and upon which they are dependent in their realization. He adds the following law of composition: *The simple identity of the objective life conception corresponds to simple composition; to the transcendental conception transmitted by duality corresponds polar composition.*

Coellen calls form structure composition, if the individual space, as f.i. the human figure is the point of departure of the formal masses, of the logical order of form. And from it is won formed totality, the result of a rhythmical combination of individual space. *Simple* is the category of the composition if there is no foundation for the form structure except individual space as the point of departure; totality being achieved solely through the composition. A composition is *polar*, if not only individual space but totality is postulated. This is established as the unformed general space medium of composition. Individual space is taken into its sphere, and put into polar relation. The result of its rhythmic organization is the formed totality. Simple composition is the highest stylistic principle in all the periods of objective cosmological conceptions. Polar composition begins with Imperial Roman and Early Christian art and remains the stylistic principle of all European art up to the Nineteenth Century when it was dissolved through Impressionism. The decisive contrast to all earlier epochs lies in using the composing of general space as the chief representation. It is the specific character of post-antique art that general space is used to symbolise the spiritual and transcendental. But this space is by no means actual space. Artistic space is set into free space in the picture, and optic rather than tactile values are sought after. In this art

natural space is only a means to an end, inasmuch as the picture depends on visibility and on nothing else. When in Christian and Islamic art general space becomes the premise of the design it becomes the true form, the ideological postulate of form logic. This happens only since the original general spatial characteristic of the form has nothing to do with realistic space.

There is originally a polar relation between the general space as mere sphere, that is as still unformed totality, and objective individual space. This relation is polar inasmuch as the two form elements are made to stand in absolute separation out of which they are to be elevated into identity. In the composing the rhythmical organization of individual space units both "formpoles" are unified, *i.e.*, achieve totality.

The transition from the simple composition of the Hellenistic period takes place in the art of Imperial Rome. It is a transition from simple compositorial and cubistic to the Early Christian-Byzantine style. The way from the Byzantine art over the Romanesque to the Gothic style, is, from the point of view of polar composition, that is of the transcendental cosmology, an attainment of period levels which are analogous to the first three levels of objective cosmology. These levels of polar composition are in a certain sense a repetition of the ornamental, plastic and tectonic types of composition. Byzantine style can be defined as ornamental, Romanesque as sculptural, Gothic as tectonic. In addition to this statement of Coellen it may be said that correspondingly Islamic style, as neighbour and contemporary of Byzantine style, is also polar on a transcendental basis, that is polar-ornamental. In a previous article I pointed to the mosaics of Damascus as an example of early Islamic polar composition ("The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem," in *Ars Islamica*, Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 234-38). A systematic analysis of the Islamic Art on the basis of Coellen's categories will be furnished in the second part of this study.

The following table, taken from W. Passarge's *Philosophy of the History of Art*, may serve as an abstract-scheme of Coellen's system ranging over the period of the polar composition, *i.e.*, the art since the beginning of the Christian era:

A. Cubism

- 1) Ornamental style. Collectivism of the individuals.—Byzantine art (to which we shall add the Islamic art).
- 2) Plastic style. Static. Mechanic mass-individuality.—Romanesque.
- 3) Tectonic style. Dynamic. Organized assembling of mass-individuality.—Gothic.

B. Organizism.

- 4) Tectonic style. Static. Organized assembling of organic individuals.—Renaissance.
- 5) Painterish style. Dynamic. Totality of the being.—Baroque.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

Archaeological History of Iran. By Ernst E. Herzfeld. (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1934). xii + 112 pp. xx pls. 13 figs. in text. London, 1935.

The student of the ancient East needs nothing so much as an archaeological history of Iran. Nor is there any scholar more competent to write such a history than Professor Herzfeld. Unfortunately, the subject which, as Prof. Herzfeld says, requires three large volumes is confined in the present book to three short lectures. Herzfeld defines archaeology as something wider than a mere history of ancient art: a record which includes every object from which conclusions as to the political and cultural developments of antiquity may be drawn, whether it be architecture, sculpture, small works of art and industry, inscriptions, and other written documents or myths and legends, coins, royal names, titles, and protocols. The definition makes one more eager than ever to have his complete account but its very breadth necessarily limits the discussion of each phase to the briefest possible survey.

The book is divided into three chapters: the Pre-Achaemenian and the Achaemenian epochs; the Hellenistic period; and the Sasanian epoch. Even in this short discussion he presents a wonderful view of Iranian development from the earliest period into the Mohammedan era. Broad sketches of this kind are of tremendous assistance to the student in that they trace general lines of development as no specialized study can. One regrets only that more of the monuments described in the text are not pictured in the plates so that the casual reader could follow more closely his reasoning.

Naturally, in so short a survey of so large a subject Herzfeld has little opportunity to survey

the material outside of Iran proper. Some of the early monuments in Armenia are treated in the first chapter and some space is given to the development in Bactria; otherwise his remarks are almost exclusively confined to the narrower limits of Persia. One may, perhaps, see in this selection a reflection of Herzfeld's well known theory that real development in Iran stops with the Hellenistic period and is resumed again only with the Sasanian. There are, to be sure, few monuments of the Arsacid period in Persia itself and the Sasanian rock reliefs do seem, therefore, to mark a radical change. From this point of view these Sasanian reliefs may even be considered artificial, i.e., "not a product of the essence of the people," as Herzfeld remarks. If one considers, however, the development in the first centuries of our era, in China, South Russia, and Mesopotamia, particularly Dura, Assur, and Seleucia, one sees at once that a reaction to Hellenism had progressed far before the Sasanian Empire began and that most of the features that Herzfeld takes as marking a new regime are taken over almost bodily from the Parthians. Undoubtedly, in a work comprehensive enough to include material from all quarters of the Parthian Empire and related monuments elsewhere Herzfeld will show this gradual transition completely.

It is really astounding to see how much really new material Herzfeld has been able to introduce. One might mention particularly the discussion of Iranian fire-temples with numerous illustrations and the rather daring but very interesting solution of the Magi story in the Christian legend. Only so incomparable a master of the subject as Herzfeld could present so many new and illuminating views of the subject and so satisfactorily draw together the broad general lines of development.

C. Hopkins

Iranskiye Miniaturi v Rukopisiyakh Shah-Name Leningradskikh Sobraniy. By L. T. Giusalian and M. M. Diakonov (Iranian Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the *Shāh-Nāme* in the Leningrad collections). 86 pp., 54 pls. (4 in color). Moscow-Leningrad, 1935 (Text in Russian).

This book has been published in connection with the Third International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology held in Leningrad, and offers in good reproductions a group of selected miniatures. It forms a supplement to the book previously published by these authors on the *Shāh Nāme* MSS. in the same collections.

The brief introduction is devoted to the stylistic and compositional features of the presented pictures, hitherto completely unknown to the specialist of Islamic art. The authors are modest in saying that they do not aim to give an art-historical survey of the material, inasmuch as the few observations made in connection with some of the miniatures are of special interest to our study.

Of exceptional importance is the manuscript from the year 1333 illustrated with fifty-two miniatures, six of which are reproduced in the book. The style of the miniatures was discussed several years ago by B. P. Deniké in his *Iskustvo Vostoka* (Kazan, 1923, pp. 73-77). The authors' opinion is that these miniatures reflect the peculiarity of the social structure of the ruling class of Iran's feudal society in the beginning of the fourteenth century which was connected with the Sasanian period; that it had the same backward, centuries-old feudal tradition and feudal ideology which were also responsible for the creation of Sasanian art. This is, certainly, an original sociological approach, but it does not explain the questions of artistic style connected with compositional and coloristic problems. Al-

though the authors rightly say, that miniatures of the manuscript, because of their technique, are connected on the one hand with mural painting and on the other hand with the decoration of Rayy pottery, they do not agree with Deniké who recognizes in them the manifestation of Iranian pictorial tradition. It seems certain that the miniatures of this manuscript and those of the *Shāh Nāme* MS. from the year 1330 in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi (L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Pls. XV-XVII), as well as a number of miniatures in the collection of D. Kelekian (R. M. Riefstahl, *Catalog of an Exhibition of Persian and Indian Miniature Painting*, New York, 1933, Nos. 4, 5 and 7), belong to one and the same school which represents the last phase of the pure Iranian tradition of painting, the beginning of which goes even into the time before the Sasanians and whose flourishing period can be placed between the fourth and sixth centuries.

The illustrations of the manuscripts from the fifteenth century do not offer new problems; they are of already well-known types. A manuscript of the sixteenth century, however, is of interest. (Pls. 18-22). It was completed in the year 1524 and represents in enhanced form the decorative features of the Şafawīd period.

Among the works of the seventeenth century mention must be made of two manuscripts; one (No. 17) dated 1630 (Pls. 32-34), and the other (No. 18) executed for *Shāh Abbās II* in the years 1642-1651 (Pls. 35-45). The latter contains one hundred and ninety-two miniatures, sixty-eight of which are signed by Afzal al-Ḥusainī and dated 1052-1055 H. (1642-1645 A.D.). On one of the miniatures the authors discovered also the signature of Pīr Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ and the date 1054 H. (1644 A.D.).

On three miniatures of another seventeenth century manuscript (No. 19) there is the signature of the painter Ridā-i Muşşawar (Pls. 47, 48).

The introductory section of the book is followed by detailed descriptions of the reproduced miniatures offering not only information about the subject matter but also about the compositional and coloristic treatment.

The book is a most welcome addition to the literature on Iranian miniature painting, disclosing material which enlarges considerably our knowledge in the field.

It is to be regretted that the authors did not supplement the text with a summary in another language, thus making it accessible to those not familiar with the Russian.

M. Aga-Oglu

Der Kiosk von Konia. Von Friedrich Sarre. 56 pp. 41 illus. and 18 pls. Berlin, Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1936.

Dr. Sarre presents in this well-illustrated work a more detailed and accurate account of a building previously published by him, the Kiosk at Konya, a small but richly ornamented example of secular architecture of the Seldjūq rulers. Unfortunately no longer preserved, it first was visited and described about one hundred years ago by such men as L. de Laborde and C. Texier. Examined and published in 1895 by Dr. Sarre and since then mentioned by various authorities, it has now fallen into ruin. However, it is since its destruction that a more accurate and valuable discussion of the monument can be undertaken, due to the fact that many pieces and fragments of its decoration have found their way into various European museums and private collections.

A more detailed analysis of the ceramic decoration of the upper portion of the Kiosk has been made possible by careful examination of the fragments which are preserved and available for study. Very apt parallels, both stylistic and

technical, are drawn between the glazed tile decoration of the Konya Kiosk and that of other Seldjūq architectural monuments of the 12th and 13th centuries; certain tiles recall a Seldjūq gold brocade in the Musée des Tissus in Lyons; striking relationships with Persian ceramic wares, particularly "Mīnā-ī" and Rayy, as well as with miniature paintings of the Baghdad School, are noted in some hexagonal tiles having human or animal figures in the center of an inner star-shaped space; and one fragment is closely related to a 11th or 12th century piece of silk stuff from a Seldjūq tomb near Rayy.

Examination of the stucco decoration of the Kiosk reveals equally important similarities and relationships. Floral and geometrical motives are prevalent in the ornamental borders. Highly decorative animal friezes are seen, including the heraldic eagle design found in other phases of Seldjūq art.

Dr. Sarre maintains, contrary to other earlier datings, that the type of glazed decoration found here cannot be earlier than the middle of the 13th century and that the builder was Kylydch Arslān IV (1257-1267). Comparison of certain Konya fragments containing inscriptions with other inscriptions in the Berlin Museum serves to uphold this dating.

The illustrations in the text and the plates are numerous and are fully commented upon, producing a publication pleasing in aspect as well as one which is a distinct contribution to scholarship.

Helen B. Hall

Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmed II Fatih. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Tahsin Öz (Istanbulur Mitteilungen, Heft 4). xiv and 166 pp. Istanbul, 1935.

It has been expressed several times that a thorough examination of the collections in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi at Istanbul would prove of importance for art-historical studies. The

book reviewed here is further evidence of the wealth of material which awaits a systematic publication.

The Director of the museum, Bay Tahsin Öz, presents two foundation documents of Sultan Mehmed II Fatih in facsimile reproductions with a descriptive introduction. Both documents are copies, the originals of which were written in Arabic and remain unknown. One was copied in the lifetime of the founder, Sultan Mehmed II, probably between 1453 and 1473, and relates to lodging houses for theologians and dervishes established in the Church Akanolosos and surrounding houses. The document describes in every detail a number of villages in the vicinity of Istanbul and Kirk-Kilise and several public baths in the capital city, the incomes of which were regulated to support the lodging houses. The second foundation document (Vaqfiye), also a copy from the year 1496, is of great importance for the topographical study of Istanbul. It contains a list and description of public institutions, mosques, libraries, hospitals, lodging houses, medresses, etc., which were established or provided by the Sultan in his capital. The document also contains a list of the personnel employed in these institutions and occasionally the names of the private owners of houses, shops etc., in various quarters of the city. This kind of information gives a remarkable view of the social order of the city with its population composed of Muhammadans, Christians, Jews, Franks and others. For example, we learn that almost all the physicians employed in the mentioned hospitals were Jews.

It is impossible to enumerate here the wealth of art-historical, social, economical and other information offered by both documents, and exhaustive study of which requires the collaboration of several students in these respective fields. Bay Tashin Öz should be congratulated in presenting such valuable material.

M. A.-O.

The Ballard Collection of Oriental Rugs in the City Art Museum of St. Louis. By Maurice S. Dimand. xiv pp. 69 pls. with descriptions. St. Louis, 1935.

This catalogue de luxe of the collection of oriental rugs given to the City Art Museum of St. Louis by James F. Ballard in 1930 will be appreciated by both laymen and students. Following a colorful foreword by the donor of this fine collection, Dr. Dimand presents an interesting and scholarly introduction to the history of oriental rugs. In separate sections preceding each group of rugs he discusses in detail the characteristic points and comparative features of the various types included in this collection. Individual descriptions of the rugs accompany each plate indicating the colors and motifs, dimensions, and number and type of knots. The kind of material, however, is not mentioned. The Turkish rugs from Asia Minor are by far the most important group, comprising approximately two-thirds of the entire collection. These include the following types: Holbein (so-called), Ushak, Bergama, Ghiordes, Kula, Ladik and others. The remaining rugs are representative examples, sometimes rare, from Persia, India, Spain, Egypt, Caucasus, Central Asia and China. Sixty-nine plates by Max Jaffé, thirteen of which are in color, add considerable beauty to this publication.

I. Hubbard

Glass from Iran in the National Museum, Stockholm. By Carl Johan Lamm. 21 pp., 48 pls. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1935.

Very seldom does one ever find fourteen pages of text, as contained in this publication, so filled with informative data. The brief historical survey of Persian Glass, its various types, the method of decoration and the processes of manufacture, while of necessity rather brief compared to the two volume work, *Mittelalterliche*

Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten, by the same author, gives an excellent general survey of the field of Iranian Glass, as well as specific details concerning the objects in the Hannibal collection in the National Museum of Stockholm. This subject matter combined with the 48 plates, which contain photographs of 44 actual examples and careful detailed drawings of 370 other objects and sherds, would seem to be an excellent addition to the library of any one interested in such material. The article is written in a clear, concise and straight forward manner, with no attempt to impress the reader with flowery language or highly technical terms that would be of value only to the connoisseur. The presentation of the subject is so appealing that it would seem to encourage rather than discourage (as many such articles do) the reader to further investigation of this most fascinating field of antique artistry.

Following the text is a bibliography of the modern works of some thirty-seven authorities dealing with Persian Glass.

R. T. Bittinger

Friedrich Sarre Schriften. Zum 22 Juni 1935.
Zusammengestellt von J. Heinrich Schmidt.
79 pp. 1 pl. Berlin, 1935.

Professor Dr. Friedrich Sarre, the eminent dean of Islamic art studies, has been befittingly honored by the publication of this volume containing the complete list of his books and articles.

Following a foreword by Dr. Ernst Kühnel in which is emphasized the importance of Sarre's

studies, Dr. J. H. Schmidt sketches in the introduction the life-work of the jubilarian. The bibliographical part of the book is divided into two sections: 1—the list of works in chronological arrangement, comprising two hundred and seven titles and covering a period of forty-five years from 1890–1935; 2—the list of works in a systematic arrangement, subdivided according to countries (Iran, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Turkey, etc.) and subject (Architecture, Ceramics, Metal, etc.).

The book is not only a mirror in which one can see the merit of a scholar, but also an excellent contribution for bibliographical references.

M. A.-O.

Islamic Pottery of the Near East. By Maurice S. Dimand. 4 pp. 20 pls. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1936.

Dr. Dimand again reveals his unusual ability to summarize a vast amount of valuable material in a few short paragraphs. His concise survey of the ceramic art of the Near East is illustrated by outstanding examples from the Metropolitan's collection. Twenty plates are included in this inexpensive publication which is one of a series of "picture books" issued by the Metropolitan Museum and the first to appear on the Islamic collection. It is hoped that more books in this series will be devoted to the Islamic decorative arts since publications of this nature are of special importance in stimulating a general interest in this field.

I. H.



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